...LW SLAVERY.

...the expatriation by Germany of civil populations of Belgium.

...of Freedom, for whose cause
...Man for man, some hero died :
...ear ye, over shuddering seas,
...What the winds have sobbed and cried ?
...The mirror of the Boom
...Have ye read the shame of doom ?
...Men of Freedom, hear !

...ve heard the savage creed
...Of the War Lord's iron hand :
...ough the world's last drop shall bleed,
...Over all, the Fatherland
...Knows, owes fealth,
...Dare and owes ruth ?
...Men of Freedom, hear !

...t the Germany we knew
...Lessing's heart and Goethe's mind
...iller's vision, fair and true,
...And the peace that Kant divined
...a land of lords and brave
...of masters, half of slaves
...Men of Freedom, see !

...another world are these
...lands of war with hearts of lead ;
...esting of new cruelties —
...Brine for water, stones for bread,
...ith grief and pity wrung,
...e have never learned your tongue
...Men of Freedom, see !

...ow the latest horror cries
...Unto heaven — and 'unto earth !
...ity ravaged Belgium lies
...Tortured for the Teuton mirth
...Was there of the Belgian heart
...Is enough to tear apart ?
...Men of Freedom, see !

...By the silent harps that hung
...On the banks of Babylon —
...By the saints that Milton sung —
...By the crowns of martyrs won —
...By all human tragedies —
...By the death that exile is
...Men of Freedom, speak !

...By the weakness of our great
...Who bequeathed a nation's sin
...To their sons to expiate,
...With a soul, to lose or win ;
...By his strength who overthrew
...Vast despair and held us true,
...Men of Freedom, speak !

...By the red of Serbia's soil ;
...Poland, paved with little bones ;
...Armenia's wail to God ;
...Hollowed Europe's haunting moans ;
...By the million rills that flow
...At one King's choice of war and woe,
...Men of Freedom, speak !

...By the things ye hold most fair,
...Use of home and love of breath ;
...By child's faith in his prayer ;
...By things more great than Life and Death,
...Your grave be shamed of ye,
...Ik, and, if the need shall be,
...Men of Freedom, strike !

Robert Underwood Johnson.

A.-J. DE BRAY

DOCTOR IN POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATICAL SCIENCES
PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
EDITOR OF PRO BELGICA

Kulture's Newest Crime

Restoration of Slavery in the XXth Century

Is this the Climax ?

Price : $0.50

Proceeds for **Belgian Relief Work**

TRANSLATION REVISED AND CORRECTED BY M. T. L.

Hommage respectueux

A. J. de Dion

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no 6/61

they arrest them by thousands every day, they tear them away from their wives and children; surrounded by bayonets, they drag them to cattle trucks, and in these they take them away to the front and to Germany.

"On the Western Front they force them, by the most brutal means, to dig trenches, construct military aviation grounds, make strategical roads and fortify the German lines. And when their victims, in spite of all, refuse to work on these defences, according to their rights laid down in International Law, they starve them, they ill-treat them, they beat them, they cause them to contract illnesses, they wound them, sometimes they even kill them. In Germany they are taken forcibly to the mines, quarries and lime kilns, whatever their age, profession or trade may be. They are deported pell-mell, young men of seventeen and old men of sixty and more. Is not this ancient slavery in all its horror? There are already more than *fifty thousand workmen* (*February, 1917, one hundred and fifty thousand*), *whether out of work or not*, who have been deported as convicts or slaves. Every day they make a clean sweep of a fresh district; formidable weapons are set up—machine guns—and innumerable soldiers are called out, and all these military measures are taken against these poor unarmed people, who are terrorized though conscious of their violated rights."

(4)

Belgians in the Service of the American Relief Committee Deported to Germany.

. . . "At Gembloux they deported the two chiefs of the local agency of the Relief Committee and two other members of the same organization. At Libramont, on the 7th of December, twenty-one employees of the National Relief Committee were taken and deported. Finally, still worse, during the slave-raid at Arlon, forty-three employees of the local and regional agencies of the Relief Commission were among the four hundred men carried off to Germany.

Marseillaise. Along the railway tracks stood the women and children, screaming and lamenting, waving in despair their last farewells to the deported men. I could bear the sight no longer, and went back to the town. There I found myself in the midst of a group of soldiers singing as loudly as their throats would allow them, 'Gloria! Gloria! Vittoria!' It was the song their comrades sang at the battle of the Yser when mowed down by the force of the German guns. This time, of course, they had to celebrate a great victory; one train more of slaves had been despatched to Germany!"

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"No doubt, they say that the workers will not be engaged on war-work; but what is the value of such declarations? In taking the place of a man workman, the Belgian workman helps to fill a gap in the German army. To work for Germany is to fight against one's own. Popular instinct has not failed to recognize this; it has resisted the most pressing appeals, the most tempting promises posted on the walls."

Copr. Life Pub. Co.

Germany's Latest Crime

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THE ENSLAVEMENT OF BELGIANS

(1)

Protest of the Belgian Government. November, 1916.

The Government knows now from a reliable source that the deportation of able-bodied men is proceeding *en masse*. Rich or poor, if they are unoccupied or out of work, are inexorably seized. . . .

To the pretensions of Germany to repudiate all responsibility for the lamentable state of the Belgian working classes, we reply that work would not be lacking for them if the invader, primarily responsible for this situation by his aggression, had not disorganized industry, taken away raw materials, oils and metals for his own use, requisitioned a quantity of machinery and tools, threatened even to take away the driving bands, of which a detailed list has already been made. . . .

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A Signal of Distress from the Belgian Bishops to Public Opinion. 7/11/16.

. . . "We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, turn to souls, believing or unbelieving, in Allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

"When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign Pope Leo XIII, as he blessed his mission, said: 'Opinion is more than ever queen of the world; it is on this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion.' May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have authority, all who are masters of speech or pen, to rally round our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery!"

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Appeal of the Belgian Workmen in Belgium to the Workmen of All Nations. December, 1916.

. . . "They say to the five hundred thousand involuntary idlers whom they themselves have forced into that position and kept there: *Either you must sign a contract for work in Germany or you will be taken as slaves.* In either case it is exile, deportation and forced labor in the enemy's interest and against their own country, terrible punishments—the cruelest that have ever been inflicted to punish crime—are carried out. And what are these 'crimes'? *Involuntary idleness which the tyrant has himself enforced and maintained.*

"And as, in spite of the most odious pressure, the Germans cannot obtain signatures—which they dare to designate as 'voluntary' in their official communiques to neutral countries [illegible] they arrest them by thousands every day, they tear them away from their wives and children; surrounded by bayonets, they drag them to cattle trucks, and in these they take them away to the front and to Germany.

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Their Treatment

"Two men who have escaped from Hanover, where they had been deported, state that in that part of Germany the Belgian civilians are mostly employed, not in munition factories, but in the mines, especially in the salt mines. A certain number of them are compelled to work on the railways. They are preparing the sleepers for the railways with some chemical product which is very dangerous and produces a gradual poisoning of the blood. They are to hew timber in the forests of Hanover, and the transport of heavy loads is done by weak men, unfit for it through their age or their lack of strength. They are driven to work by guards, armed with a whip and a revolver.

"Another group of men are employed in the zinc factories. They have to withstand a frightful heat produced by the ovens. Scarcely clothed as they are, with their torso naked, they are to transport the materials in the yard of the factory, in the open air and are uninterruptedly exposed to pleurisy."

Report Signed by Twenty Workmen Returned from Harles (German Front).

"... After that our commander went and informed the chief of the pioneers, who appeared on horseback, together with another officer. The officer ordered us to work. A common general refusal. Thereupon the two men on horseback rushed at us, whipped some of us and pressed us back into a meadow close by. Soldiers have also kicked some of us. The workmen persisted in their refusal, saying that the promises made at Ghent were not kept. The chief of the pioneers then ordered some of us to advance in order to have a talk with him. A dozen left the ranks and reminded our commander of the words he spoke at La Gantoise—we would be well fed and lodged, and would not have to work outside Belgium. The delegates and the rest of the workmen stuck to their refusal. At this moment the chief of the pioneers ordered some twenty of his soldiers to load their rifles, to shoulder and to aim at us. Overcome by terror, some of the men gave way, and an hour afterwards everybody was at work, giving way under such threats and such pressure."

The Slave Raid of Nivelles: Story of an Eye-witness

"... At about half past five P. M. the train was full; it consisted of thirty-two carriages, including no less than one thousand men from the little town of Nivelles itself, taken haphazard, employed and unemployed. I thought of their wives and children, left behind to struggle through the hard winter months with scarcely anything to eat. I was all of a sudden awakened out of my thoughts by a thundering chorus coming from the train: 'Long live Belgium! Long live the King!' And out of all the carriages there rose with wonderful suddenness the song of the 'Brabançonne' and of the Marseillaise. Along the railway tracks stood the women and children, screaming and lamenting, waving in despair their last farewells to the deported men. I could bear the sight no longer, and went back to the town. There I found myself in the midst of a group of soldiers singing as loudly as their throats would allow them, 'Gloria! Gloria! Vittoria!' It was the song their comrades sang at the battle of the Yser when mowed down by the force of the German guns. This time, of course, they had to celebrate a great victory; one train more of slaves had been despatched to Germany!"

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Kulture's Newest Crime.

Restoration of Slavery in the XXth Century.

Is this the Climax ?

I.—THE DEPORTATIONS.

The Surprises of the Great War. — Where the pacifists were wrong. — Violations of International Law. — Deportations : Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, Ghent, Namur, Bruges, Louvain, Nivelles, Mons, Tournai, St. Nicolas. — Lists of the unemployed refused the Germans by the Belgian Burgomasters. — Tournai fined. — The Answer of a Brute. — Summons by bill-boards and posters : a few examples. — Cruel methods of recruiting and transportation. — A description from the " New-York Times ". — Methods less human than those of the Arabian slave-merchants.

The Great War will have been fruitful in surprises. Each day brings its own since that dark hour when an armed nation, unconscious of the most elementary principles of justice and equity, rose up to impose that brutal maxim that " Might is Right." Each sphere contributes its share. The attitude of the belligerent as well as that of the neutral powers (1) the new methods of warfare, the German atrocities (2), the resounding failure of German diplomacy (3), the countless organisations of patriotic relief work (4), the dignified and loyal attitude of Belgium and the worthy yet passive resistance of its population, the attitude of political parties such as the German social-democracy (5) the

(1) See a short sketch in our pamphlet : "*Les dessous d'un projet d'Alliance,*" p. 15.

(2) See the official reports of French and Belgian governments containing the results of various inquiries held on the premises by individuals above all suspicion. To witness, also, numerous publications : " Les crimes allemands d'après des témoignages allemands." " L'Allemagne essaie de justifier ses crimes." " Comment les Austro-Hongrois ont fait la guerre en Serbie." "La suppression des Arméniens." Les atrocités allemandes du côté russe." " La Belgique Martyre." " Les Allemands en Belgique," etc.

(3) See in " Les causes et les conséquences de la guerre " by Yves Guyot, the chapter " La diplomatie allemande, ses procédés, ses résultats." The Prince von Buelow repeats and asserts what Dr. Althoff says in his recent work ; " We, Germans, are the most enlightened of the world, but in politics, we are asses."

(4) The Relief Work for the victims of the war in Belgium is certainly the most broad-spread the world has known and has been called by Lord Robert Cecil " a miracle of scientific organisation." See *Pro Belgica,* the weekly newspaper published by its Canadian branch.

(5) See our pamphlet "*Les dessous d'un projet d'alliance,*" p. 7.

conduct of the German religious authorities, both Protestant and Catholic, (1) the results of warring in the air and under seas, etc., etc. And it is not yet over ! God alone knows what the future has in reserve !

Possibly, those to be the most astounded were the firm believers in the palavers at the peace convention, while the armaments were increasing yearly; they were idle-preachers, dreamers, fed with illusions, members of interparliamentary peace conferences who thought the perils of war quite over, and believed that mankind had evolved to that state of intellectual development, when any nation at variance might settle its disputes through arbitration; their faith in The Hague Convention was over-confident with respect to those agreements which established the inter-relationship of nations (2). They could not believe that such utter disregard of laws were possible—contempt of even the law of nations; nor that one could so easily withdraw a solemn promise, scorn a treaty—things which should be sacred, for nations perhaps more than individuals, since the State is the safeguard of public morality.

Truly, there is cause for not only surprise, but for stupefaction! Since the day Belgian neutrality was trampled, since von Bethmann-Hollweg attempted to justify this violation of right, in the Reichstag Meeting of Aug. 4th, 1914, alleging that "Necessity knows no Law", (3) it seems as

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(1) See what Mr. G. Blondel says in his treatise : "L'Ecole Allemande et sa responsabilité." German Catholics are domesticated. They have not the courage to repudiate the odious deeds of which so many priests and religious have been the victims. Catholic periodicals avoid mention of Alliance with the Turks, who massacred Christians in Armenia. "They have forgotten that Wilhelm wrote to his sister-in-law that he despised catholicism which he called Roman superstition, and considered it the enemy to be crushed."

See also the beautiful collective letter of the Belgian episcopacy to the German episcopacy, proposing contradictory inquest.

(2) The late Mr. A. Beernaert, the eminent Belgian statesman, who passed away in time to avoid witnessing the barbarous invasion of his country such as we have seen it, was known to say at The Hague Convention that "As far as Belgium was concerned, her situation was special. It is neutral, and her neutrality is guaranteed by the Great Powers, notably by our mighty neighbors. We cannot therefore be invaded."

(3) The following declaration of the chancellor, is at once an avowal and condemnation of the German policy. They much need be deplored as they attest a dangerous state of mind to the peace of the world. Neutral nations, with ideals of liberty, right and justice, must read them with sentiments of apprehension. "We are bound to defend ourselves and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, possibly they are already occupying Belgian territory." *This is contrary to the principles of International Law.* The French Government has declared the neutrality of Belgium at Brussels, that is true, and added that she would respect it as long as it was respected by adversaries. But we knew that France was ready to take the offensive. France could wait, but we could not wait as an attack in the direction of the lower Rhine would have been fatal to us. Therefore we were forced to turn a deaf ear to the *justified* protestations of the Luxemburg Authorities, and those of the Belgian Government.

To speak openly, the proceedings *which we were forced to adopt were illegal*, but they will be repaired to the best of our ability when our military goal will have been reached. Threatened as we are, we may not do better."

though it had been understood that all the rules of the International Law, as well as all rules regarding warfare should mercilessly be sacrified.

The past months have witnessed the wholesale massacre of civilians, without judge or jury, without discrimination of aged men and children, or even of women who were grouped and fired upon at random till none were left; the organized sacking, plunder and firing of homes, the bombardment of open cities and destruction of those edifices which should have been the most respected, as well as of civil and military hospitals, the use of hand grenades containing explosives, of asphyxating gases, the ruthless killing of the wounded by a refinement of wickedness, the arbitrary requisitions, the executions without formal proceedings, collective punishment for individual offenses, the enforcement of labor for the enemy, the inhuman treatment of prisoners, the taking and execution of hostages, the use of civilians as a shield for advancing or retreating troops, etc.

And now, these "Men of Kultur", who seem to challenge the whole civilized world, infringe upon every law of humanity and would crown their long list of barbarities by a last defiant impeachment of The Hague Conventions and bring into captivity the Belgians—that race to whom they cannot forgive the dignified loyalty of its attitude of August 1914, which has ruined their hopes of world wide domination!

One must revert to pre-Christian eras of history to find crimes against humanity to rival these ! (1)

How we find it in our hearts to pity Belgium !

These deportations, at sight of which all the civilized

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(1) We read in the "*Boston Transcript,*" under the title : *The Enslaving of Belgium,* "The Germans seem determined to leave nothing undone to justify the designation of them as modern Huns. They went far in that direction in the manner of their conquest of Belgium and Northern France, in committing all sorts of outrages, murder, pillage and destruction. They went further in repeatedly levying vast sums of tribute upon the conquered cities. They have now gone further still in taking away large numbers of the conquered people, peaceful non-combatants, into practical slavery in foreign lands. They did that some time ago in Northern France. Now there is a similar draft of the able-bodied men of Belgium, who are arbitrarily seized, examined for their physical condition, as horses or cattle would be, and then shipped like cattle to foreign lands to be worked under alien taskmasters. The hideous inhumanity of it cannot be exaggerated. It cannot be fully expressed. The world has wept over the sorrows of the exiled Acadians, but in no respect was their fate more woful than that of these victims of the modern Huns. It is bad enough for families to have their goods pillaged and their lands and homes ravished, if their lives are spared and they are permitted to comfort each other and to work together in rehabilitation. But to suffer these things and then in addition to be forcibly separated and sundered far, denied all knowledge of each other's where abouts and fate is inexpressibly heart-rending. There has been nothing like it in Europe for centuries. It is a practice worthy of Attila or Tamerlane."

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universe is indignant, were all premeditated, systematically executed and extended over all the country. (1)

At Brussels, according to the "Echo Belge" the Germans decided to transport 50,000 inhabitants. "La Belgique", says the Kommandantur requested lists of the unemployed in all the municipalities. Upon refusal, the City Hall employees were transported into Germany by orders of Mr. von Bissing. The alderman in charge of the registry was held as hostage. We can understand the profound emotion which reigns in the Belgian capital !

The "London Times" announces the first contingent of slaves carried away from Brussels on the 17th of November, and the arrest of civic administrators for having refused the lists of the unemployed demanded.

At Antwerp, after information from the Reuter Agency, Belgians who escaped declared there had been a revolt on the 30th of November among those who were being carried away. The poor workmen who were being ill treated by their tormentors turned on them and many were killed on both sides. Official reports are lacking, but the information may well be true, as Belgians, knowing the fate reserved for them in Germany, prefer any alternative.

The "Tijd" announces that 21,000 civilians were transported from Antwerp, and German troops had to guard the stations (2). Those to be deported were not allowed to bid goodbye to their relatives, and the most heart-rending scenes took place. Among the deported were workmen taken from factories.

The transportation having been announced in Antwerp, several Belgians on the Dutch frontier, terror stricken, escaped into Holland. Several among them were electrocuted on crossing the lines, but the greater number made good their escape. They were followed by German mounted police, and a proclamation announced that if said Belgians had not returned at a set date, their wives and children would be taken over in their stead.

At Liege, the male population was instructed to keep ready for deportation. Several young men preferred to cross the border, and there gave information on the situation of occupied Belgium under German administration.

"The male population between 17 and 55 years of age shall assemble at a certain place mentioned. There the choice

(1) Razzias still continued in the north of France, the victims being claimed of the best families. Here the Germans allege retaliation, the French retaining a certain number of prisoners from Alsace-Lorraine. The "Echo Belge" of December 16th tells of great commotion at Tourcoing, upon the deportation of 300 civilians. Among these were noted a Deputy of Lille, several mayors, clergymen, lawyers, notaries, manufacturers, also, a certain number of women.

(2) A fine of 6,000 Marks or 6 months' imprisonment was inflicted on any one violating the warning not to approach the railway stations.

was made. Many who were indispensable to the place were returned to their homes. In general, the unfortunate ones bought a handbag and a few accessories, while the Belgian Relief Society provided them with clothing and a little food. The remaining population is quite calm, but at night, the strains of "la Brabançonne" and cries of "Long live Belgium," "Down with Germany", "Down with the Kaiser", may be heard from passing trains.

At Ghent, the capital of Flanders, for the information of those under the impression that the Flemish fraternize with the Germans, despite all advances, 5,000 men were transported for enforced labour the 19th of October. All classes of society were represented ranging from 18 to 40 years of age, and intelligence from Amsterdam, of the 22nd of October says that while being thus driven from their homes they sang the Marseillaise and the Brabançonne.

The "Telegraaf" correspondent affirms that a goodly number of these men were brought to the battlefield of the Somme, where they had to dig trenches and build German defences. Many of these were killed or seriously wounded by French guns, having been obliged to work in places open to attack.

A London cablegram of the 24th says that authentic news had been received of the transportation of 200 women, previously employed in the textile industries of Ghent.

The "Central News" reports that 20,000 persons were transported from Ghent alone, and that the people were in a state of high excitement. This is quite conceivable. Laborers who obstinately refused to sign contracts to work in Germany were sent off to Flanders and Artois, and forced to dig trenches and set up barbed-wire fences. A few were reported to have escaped, but they were caught and thrown into prison.

Other men were sent off to St. Quentin where they were made to take down the beet sugar factories and uproot the beets in the fields. Knowing only too well the inhumanity of the Germans, Ghent citizens have organised a relief society to assist their less fortunate brethren lately transported into Germany.

This Committee was composed of nine members of the city council of Ghent and nine from among the other citizens. The City contributed a first subsidy of 25,000 francs. (1)

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(1) The state of misery of the deportees to Germany has arrested the attention of the Belgian Government, and "Le XXe Siècle" in its issue of November 28th relates that Mr. Carton de Wiart, Minister of Justice, and Mr. Cooreman, president of the Belgian Committee for the Relief of prisoners gave orders for the delivery of bread to 12,000 Belgian deportees, stationed at Solstau, in distressing circumstances..

The City of Brussels has also supplied the deportees, at their departure, with the necessary food and clothing, through its Public Welfare Department.

At Melle, a small suburb of Ghent, the people suffered greatly at the hands of the invading Germans, and 600 men were forced to set up German defenses in the vicinity of Dixmude.

At Maldeghem: the "Amsterdam Telegraaf" reports the following information, with details too precise to be doubted :

"There are now 400 civilians working in the vicinity of Maldeghem, finishing German fortifications. The Germans were obliged to use force to attain their ends. Nine men having been designated for certain work refused to comply even at the salary of 4 marks, a tempting one in this time of misery and forced idleness. Escorted to the frontier, and, still persisting in their determination, they were forced to stand all day guarded by sentries. They are residents of Bouchaute village, who are to dig the trenches at Selzaete, which will be a continuation of those at Maldeghem."

At Namur : Amsterdam correspondents report that the men were transported to Germany from Namur and Charleroi.

Raids took place all through the Basse-Sambre region, noted for its glass products, on the 24th of November. According to special information, all the men from 17 to 50 years of age were sent word to be at the factory office of Franière, where each was questioned regarding his profession. The pretext for deportation called forth was idleness but in reality the greater number deported were workmen who had been in constant employment. Those deemed unfit by the Germans were left to return home; the others were conducted to the depot to board the trains for Germany. To avoid any escape they were led through a double barricade from the factory to the station. Quick firing guns and armed soldiers were stationed on every side ready to prevent escape or crush rebellion.

At Louvain : On the 25th of November, says the Amsterdam "Central News", the male population was ordered to be ready for another trip to Germany under the same conditions as for the preceding one. Not even hard-suffering Louvain was spared !

At Ostende : many were also transported. This city is completely isolated from the others but preserves a composed attitude and is hopeful of a speedy deliverance of German servility.

At Lierre, according to information received upon six hundred men, guarded by German soldiers, about half a hundred overthrew their guards and escaped.

The German then called upon the population to help in the pursuit of the runaways, and threatened the latter with severe penalties if they failed to return.

Upon the refusal of the population the burgomaster, pastor, and some of the notability were arrested. (1)

At Aerschot and *at Diest* everyone was brought away.

At Nivelles : The "Echo Belge" reports that all men in the district of Nivelles were convoyed, regardless of age. About 4,000 reported, 1,080 from Nivelles, the remainder from Baulers, Tubize Braine-l'Alleud, Ittre, Virginal, Lillois, Montreu and other villages. The examination of the men lasted nearly a day, and the aged, sick and infirm were rejected. The others, out of work or employed, whether or not supported by Relief Committee or having families dependant upon them, were mercilessly sent away to Germany.

The scene was piteous with the cries and lamentations of women and children. When the train drove off, cries of "Vive la Belgique! Vive le Roi!" rent the air.

It is not in the least surprising that quarrels should engage among witnesses and participants of such scenes.

At Tirlemont, the "Central News" affirms that all the male population ranging from the age of 17 to that of 55, was transported into Germany in trade wagons and that the departure effected a great uprising and pitiful scenes among the unhappy people.

At Virton, in Belgian Luxemburg, as well as in surrounding districts, the population was raided of its valid men, and even of its boys of 12 to 15 !

At Mons : all men over 17 years of age had to report to headquarters, on the 28th of October. Priests, professors and others were sent back, but 1,300 were taken to Germany. About one-fourth of these held positions. They were allowed to bring neither clothes nor provisions, and forbidden to communicate in any manner with their families or those who remained. Terrible scenes followed. The Belgians, armed with knives, assailed the Germans, and they wounded many in the struggle that followed. The prisoners were brought away finally, but only after strong detachments of infantry troops had restored order by means of the bayonet.

Various operations in view of transporting to Germany from Quiévrain, Thulin, Elouges, Baisieux, Hansies began as early as the 26th of October, and, as was the custom, a most careful selection was made. Placards were erected appealing for "volunteer workmen who would be allowed to bring their families, and promised liberty to return after 3

(1) The same incidents were repeated in numerous villages in the North of Belgium.

Members of certain municipalities, many of whom were quite aged, were conducted as hostages to the jail at Malines, under the pretext of connivance with those who escaped.

In spite of these illegal measures, the latter did not return, and the German efforts in this direction proved of no avail.

months' sojourn in Germany. As all Belgium still remembers the " scrap of paper ", no one attached faith to the lies of German administration. Those who remain are incapable of going, the transportation having already been effected.

At Tournai : the local authorities were fined 200,000 marks by General Hopffer for having refused to submit the list of the unemployed necessary for selecting the men to be deported,(1) and an additional fine of 20,000 marks per day for each of every day of delay in doing so. Here we have the dignified answer of the civic authorities, and the answer of the German authority, which the " Independance Belge " has termed " *the answer of a brute* ":

" The City Council of Tournai is resolved to maintain its present attitude. It also believes it a duty to add that Tournai is ready to submit to all the exigencies of laws and custom in times of war, and its sincerity cannot be doubted, because for more than 2 years now, since German occupation it has preserved calm among the people, and forbidden every hostile act, thus proving that it was not inspired with useless bravado. But it could never consent to supply or contribute guns or amunition to be turned against its own children, and it is equally convinced that justice and the right of nations condemn such a measure.

" On September 2nd, the Governor-general of Belgium declares that " He requires no one to set aside patriotic sentiments ". The City of Tournai has faith in this declaration which should terpret the sentiments of the German Emperor, in whose name the Governor general speaks, under the inspiration of honour and patriotism. This city is convinced of this duty, in which a high commanding German officer may not fail ; and is confident that the noble and loyal attitude of such officer will allay all suspicion and misunderstanding between him and the German army."

The German answer follows. " It is the height of arrogance, and a bad interpretation of the situation created by warfare, for a city to allow its local authorities to oppose the military authorities of a country. The situation is very simple and is resumed thus : military authorities command and the city obeys. Otherwise, it must bear burden of the consequences, as I said in my preceding declaration. The commander of the army therefore imposes upon the city, as a result of its refusal to furnish the required lists, a fine of 200,000 marks, said sum to be paid within six days from date of imposition ; moreover, an additional daily fine will be imposed until December 31st, 1916, to begin with."

(1) The burgomasters of all the belgian cities have refused to remit these lists requested by the Germans.

At St. Nicolas, and in *Waes*, a train of eight cars was produced, and was seen heading for Germany, filled with Belgians.

To understand the ignominy of these razzias of men to their full extent, as well as the disgrace which brands the perpetration of such acts as these, it is necessary to become familiar with the mode, the odious methods of the restoration of slavery in XXth Century times.

Those previously acquainted with German culture can have their guess. They already know that the conduct of this "kultured" race belies its motto: "Gott mit uns"!

All inhabitants beyond 15 years of age should carry pass-ports or pay a fine of 5 to 10 marks. Men of 18 to 35 are held to report to the Kommandantur monthly.

While transportations in a certain quarter have been provided for, the people are warned of it by bill-board signs. For popular edification a model of such a poster follows :

"Foreword to Belgians of the male sex, born in 1885-1899, now unemployed and under military control, and inhabiting the cities of Antwerp, Borgerhout and Berchem.

Since the outset of the war, a large portion of Belgian laborers has been deprived of work, and is now subsisting on public charity. The duration of such conditions brings distressing results — insufficient food, habits of idleness, and endangers public peace and safety.

In spite of the fact that many have found employment and a good salary in the service of German employers, or have volunteered as laborers for the German "Industrie Bureau" the number of unemployed workmen is still excessively high.

Workmen who have abstained from work till now, and ignored all occasions to obtain employment will, by order of His Excellence the Governor General, be obliged to undertake work, either of free will or by force.

As a means to this end it is hereby decreed that :

(1) All Belgians, *capable of army service*, of the classes 1885-1899, listed as unemployed, at the meeting of the Committee of Control, in September and October last, held at Meldeamt, Antwerpen-Festung, shall assemble in the main building of the South Antwerp depot, upon special convocation, on the date and at the hour mentioned for such meeting. Thence, all who are unwilling to work, and excepting the sick and invalids, will be directly deported to German workshops.

Such convocation, by post, must be followed by immediate action.

Persons summoned should bring their convocation and identification card to the place of meeting.

(2) Invalided persons of others incapacitated through sickness shall undergo medical examination, which shall determine the necessity of liberation owing to ill health.

(3) Representatives of the German "Industrie Bureau" will be present, affording the opportunity of signing contracts for labor at a good salary.

(4) After this selection, the unemployed shall immediately be transported to Germany to work for a salary.

It is recommended that every one bring the necessary clothing and personal accessories necessary to the proposed journey and sojourn in Germany. (1)

The destination will be some spot in Germany where laborers will be distributed among the various manufactures, and they will work.

These laborers will not be considered as prisoners of war.

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(1) Some posters speecify : "as much money as possible."

As to the time of the departure and during the voyage, the military authorities will manage the food question but each shall bring fork and spoon.

In cases where a forced expedition would cut off the allowance of the families of those laborers deported by the National Committee, the German administration will provide until the said laborers can send their salaries to their families.

(5) The unemployed summoned to the South Depot shall not be accompanied by any relative.

(6) Those who, through fault of their own, fail to abide by the instructions given to be present at the said meeting, and who do not follow the instructions of the guards in charge, or who disturb the peace, in any way, shall be liable to 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of 5,000 marks, or to one of these punishments.

The Governor Freiherr von Huene.

All these posters are not identical. As a rule, the male population is summoned and not only the unemployed are called away to a life of slavery. We shall see why later.

Here is the text of the order which summoned the male population of 17 to 56 years of age, from 22 villages of the district (about 10,000 men) to Wavre, posted the November 14th :

NOTICE.

All men from 17 to 55 years inclusively of the Municipality of..... are held to be present, on the 15th of November, 1916, at 8 o'clock in the morning (German time) at the market place, in Wavre.

The Burgomaster shall be present. Those concerned shall present a certificate of identification, and, as the case may be, their "meldekarte".

Small hand-valises may be taken along.

Those who refuse to respond will be transported immediately by force, to parts where they will be obliged to work. Moreover, they will be subject to heavy fines and imprisonment.

Clergymen, doctors, lawyers, professors and teachers need not be present.

Der Kaiserliche Kreischel von Nivelles

Graf von Schwerin.

The day of convocation witnessed a veritable man-hunt. Streets and districts were barred and hemmed in, and delinquents were tracked and trapped. In some districts the authorities set a certain hour when all should be at home to raid each house individually and bring away all able bodied men, by force of arms in many cases.

Factories were also guarded at the closing-hours, and all the personnel between 18 and 60 years was captured. Surely, these are proceedings worthy of the old Arab methods of dealing with slaves !

The most careful selection was made and all impotent, invalided and aged men were exempted. The others were checked and huddled into trucks in the manner of live stock. (1).

(1) The "Chicago Daily News" on Nov. 19th says, from correspondent "At one of the Belgian stations whence these transportations were being effected, a train composed of cattle trucks went by, literally heaped with deportees. The wives and children of these poor men filled the depot and cries were heard from the forsaken women who, when the signal for departure was given, threw themselves bodily on the rails, only to be driven aside by German bayonets."

In many instances, the unfortunate deportees hadn't the time to warn their families. One of them, when leaving, threw upon the tracks his collar upon which he had penciled the words: " I am a school teacher, 55 years of age. I live at Mons, ...Street. I was taken away without any forewarning, during my class. Advise my wife and children."

An inhabitant of Ghent who succeeded in escaping the German trappers and reached the frontier gave indications of the manner in which this slavery of white men was carried on. The police were instructed to furnish information regarding the occupation of all the inhabitants; the latter were then summoned and if they refused to answer they were deported instantly and were condemned to a fine of not over 10,000 marks. (1)

Those who answered the summons had but one day to prepare for the voyage; they were then transported in the manner we well know !

The sight of these poor people, conducted into exile by the well-known brutality of the German soldiery, is lamentable. Some of the trucks are uncovered and, as happened before in 1914, these pad-locked wagons, gorged with human victims, sometimes wait for days on side tracks. It is evident that the tracks were to serve the convenience of military transportation. They were often without food nor clothing which relatives were forbidden to send them, (2) and, above all, under the terrible suspense of ignoring what the future held in store for them. (3)

A " New-York Times " cablegram confirms the proceedings related, and gives information with regards to me-

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(1) This is evidence that not only the idlers or those who depended upon public charity were deported, but also that the convocation was sent to people of means.

(2) The " Indépendance Belge " says that " the men deported were driven like animals in cattle trucks."

(3) For this reason many escaped to Holland. The " Montreal Star " publishes on Jan. 13th :

" The Belgian " underground railway " is working so well and the deportations from Belgium have caused so much alarm that efforts to cross the border into Holland are now more numerous than at any previous time since the Germans occupied the country.

Belgians who recently escaped on canal tugs and made their way to London, where they enrolled in the Belgian army, report that there is little difficulty in reaching the Dutch border, even from points as far distant as the French frontier. Once on the Dutch border their real troubles began, and to cross the frontier into Holland it is necessary to use any means at hand, even the killing of sentries.

According to the information received here, ninety men of military age on two canal tugs succeeded in making their way down the Meuse and across the border. In one case, the men who reached London report, they bribed the German guard, while the men on the other tug fought their way through patrols, rammed and broke the last lock and floated across the barbed wire fence on the flood waters, alighting on a shoal within Dutch territory."

thods applied in the transportation of Belgians, and the effort to make them work against their country. (1).

Years ago, at the time of the anti-slavery crusade, preached by the Cardinal Lavigerie, we may recall having seen the engravings of slavers, whose decks were packed with the negroes. History once more repeats itself and in a degree intensified, since it deals with free men, and not with poor negroes, who, for the greater part, only exchanged one slavery for another.

And this is what "Kultur" unravels to a civilized world!

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(1) See the "New York Times" dated December 16th, "*Germany Still Seizing Belgians for Forced Labor.*"

"When a numbered group was considered large enough the men were introduced into a neighboring room; there they were to undergo a terrible temptation. German officers, with a smile, came to them and offered them work. They were told they could save their families from starvation; they would get a high salary. What joy it would be in their homes when their wives would get wealthy in these terrible times! They would go back for some days and see their families—nay, they would not have to leave Belgium; would they not work for the German authorities?

"Some of the men went white as a sheet. They all answered by categorically refusing. Some of them said: I don't sign any agreement. I don't want to work against my country. Some even vehemently protested, complaining of the violence they were being subjected to. Protesting loudly that they were neither workmen nor unemployed, some influential citizens, relief workers who have been allowed to circulate among the groups, joined in the protest. It was all in vain. Thirteen officials of railway administration were carried off, despite the protests of their chiefs. Mr Chantier, manager of the Ateliers Métallurgiques, barely escaped deportation. He got away only after endless protests and discussion.

'No discrimination was made between employed and unemployed; men of industry, traders, masters of workshops, farmers, university students, landlords, even a simpleton, were taken away. The most despairing victim of the raid was Gobert Painter, father of eleven children, whom the Germans deported with his two eldest sons.

"A railway wagon had been brought right up to the doors of the factory, and about 9.30 o'clock eight men were pushed into each compartment and immediately locked up. There was a rush of women who had succeeded in getting near the factory, but the soldiers brutally dispersed them.

"I then witnessed the most moving spectacle. A great many of the men who had been called up never imagined that they would be deported immediately. They had come without food and suitable clothing, and now they sat there in their wagon, some without caps or hats, shivering with cold and looking around in despair for some help.

"This moved to tears their more fortunate fellow-citizens, who had been exempted, and those who had foreseen what was going to happen and had brought with them handbags and warm clothes rushed to the doors of the wagon and handed over to the imprisoned men everything in their possession.

"Meanwhile more carriages were coming up, and group after group disappeared, being immediately locked up. The town flamed in excitement. Men who had been liberated went to the homes of their less fortunate companions to announce to their wives and children the sad news of the impending departure of their husbands and fathers. In feverish haste these poor women prepared edibles—bread, chocolate, all that they could find in their desolate homes—selected the warmest clothes, and then ran to the station to see their men. They were allowed to approach the carriages and to hand over the luggage. As the hours went by an endless procession flowed from the neighboring villages, women and old men bringing help to those who were being deported.

II.—BELGIANS PROTESTS AND APPEALS.

Official text of some historical documents. — Belgian King's sent message to the Pope and the King of Spain. — Protestation of Baron Beyens, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Vatican and Spain. — Letter of the Belgian Government to the King. — The King's answer. — Letter of the President of the House and Senate to the King. — The King's answer. — Protestation of the Belgian Government to the Allied and Neutral Powers. — Text of the protest of the presidents of House of Representatives and Senate of Belgium to the parliaments of Allied and Neutral countries. — Text of the protest handed by the Belgian Minister to the United States, at Washington. — Cardinal Mercier's letter of protest to Governor von Bissing. — Von Bissing's answer. — The Cardinal's retort. — Cardinal Mercier's allocution of the 26th November in the church of St. Gudule in Brussels. — Cardinal Mercier's last letter to Mr. von Bissing. — Protest of Belgian Members of Parliament to Governor von Bissing. — The latter's reply. — The Member's retort. — The City of Brussels protests. — Text of advices posted by the Germans in Brussels. — Belgian Scientific bodies protest. — Protestation from the Industrials Association of Belgium. — Letter of Mr. E. Van der Velde, Minister of Munitions to the "Internationale Socialiste" of which he is president. — Appeal of Belgian refugees in Great Britain to the Pope. — Appeal of the Belgian laborers to the workmen of all nations. — Appeal of Belgian citizens, resident in the United States, to American people. — Appeal of Belgian refugees in Holland, to the Queen of the Netherlands. — Worthy attitude of the Belgian civil and religious authorities. — Contemptible attitude of German authorities.

This additional violation of the International Law, this outrage against human dignity, called forth protest from every quarter.

We present herewith the most noteworthy of these protestations, documents which will hold their own in the his-

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"At noon the German officers went to luncheon, and they did not come back for a long time.

"The men of Baulers, among whom were many old people, were still to be examined and were left in torrential rains in the Place Saint Paul at Nivelles, during three and a half hours. All through the afternoon some influential citizens and the burgomaster of the district engaged in an endless struggle with the German officers, discussing, and discussing again, watching the moment an officer got tired out and assailed him immediately with remonstrations and protests in order to save as many men as possible.

"At about 5.30 P. M., the train was full. It consisted of thirty-two carriages, including no less than 1,000 men from the little town of Nivelles itself, taken hap-hazard, employed and unemployed. I thought of their wives and children, left behind and deprived of the earnings of the husband and father, and forced to struggle through the hard winter months with scarcely anything to eat.

"I was suddenly awakened out of my thoughts by a thundering chorus coming from the train. "Long live the King! Long live Belgium!" and out of all the carriages there rose with wonderful suddenness the chant of the Brabançonne and the Marseillaise.

"Along the railway tracks stood the women and children, screaming and lamenting and waving in despair their last farewell to the deported men. I could bear the sight no longer and went back to town. There I found myself in the midst of a group of soldiers singing as loudly as their throats would allow the "Gloria Vittoria." It was the song their comrades sang at the battle of the Yser, when they were being mowed down by the fire of the Belgian guns. *This time of course, they had to celebrate a great victory:* ONE TRAINFUL MORE OF SLAVES HAD BEEN DISPATCHED."

tory of this never-to-be forgotten decade, elevating valiant little Belgium upon a higher pedestal, where the suffering she has endured for patriotism adds to the glamour of her halo. The glory of Belgium must be the disgrace of Germany, and of its "Kultur" inasmuch as its accumulated crimes and its ambitious pangermanism deserves.

According to the Belgian paper exiled in France, "XXe Siècle", King Albert sent letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, and President Wilson relatively to these deportations, the latest crime of German authorities.

A note from Madrid states the Spanish Embassy at Berlin had received word of energetic protest against these Belgian deportations. The ambassador asked that such measures be abolished, and that those who had hereto been victimized be liberated. The Spanish Ambassador at Brussels also received a note with instructions to see that the deportees be not too badly treated.

Moreover the minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Baron Beyens, sent the Pope (1) and the King of Spain, a telegram which read thus :

"The situation in Belgium daily becomes worse. Deportation of able-bodied Belgians is being practiced everywhere. If not made to work in German manufactures, they are sent to that part of France occupied by the German army and obliged to dig trenches or construct the strategic railroads Lille-Aulnoye-Givet. The Germans have boasted of deporting a totality of 350,000 within the near future. Requisitions for material are yet carried on in our factories with the aim of ruining the country, and preventing all means of resurrection after the war. All serviceable machinery is carried away, and the remainder sold by the pound as scrap. The Governor General pretends, by declarations made to a reporter of the N. Y. Times, that these transportations were effected without incident, that some Belgians even left gladly. In reality, they suffer moral and physical torture, the opprobium of slavery. The German Government finds an excuse in the necessity to abolish idleness, when it was instrumental in organizing it, by forbidding civic authorities to give employment to laborers without consent of the German authorities and preventing them, as in the Luxemburg district from taking employment in public works by forbidding operations at the coal mines of Limburg.

Belgium is entirely in the hands of the most violent military authority. Civil authority stands by and is silent. Do you insist that the government to which you are accredited invite the German government to reflect upon

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(1) Referring to the appeal to the Holy See, "The International Law Notes" of November 1916, discloses the weight of any intervention of the Pope, to whom he applied, attending this latest violation of International Law.

The Holy Father was also communicated the views of the following legists : Judge Atherley-Jones, K. C., Dr. Ernest J. Schuster, Dr. Hugh, L. L. Bellot, one of the secretaries of the Grotius Society ; Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, Member of the Grotius Society ; Mr. James H. Vichery, L.L.B., United States Attorney-at-Law ; Dr. Henry St. John Mildmay, Advocate, Milan ; Mr. Gustave Thery, Attorney of the Court of Appeal, Lille, former Chairman of Barristers.

These legists, skilled in International Law, unanimously assert that these deportations are obviously a violation of the same.

The Vatican, of a rank to hold a special place in the International Law, would, upon intervention, morally compel the approval of the Christian World and thus put an end to the sufferings of those victims of barbarous Germany.

the consequences of the crimes against humanity which are committed in its name. Germany, on evacuating Belgium, wishes to leave it lifeless. But, the tortures it inflicts on its victims place it under the ban of all nations, and instead of imposing peace upon her adversaries, through terrorizing, Germany is inciting against it, all the civilized world.

(S.) Beyens.

The Belgian Government, on the 15th of November, addressing a telegram of congratulations to the King Albert, at the occasion of the feast of his patron saint, said :

"The present day is one of anguish for all our countrymen. As war goes on, exile gradually becomes more bitter. Not content with imposing ever-increasing taxes, arbitrary condemnations and application of capital punishment, the German military authorities are now deporting a large number of our able-bodied citizens, driving them without mercy from their cities and homes, away from their country, to a state of servitude. This barbarous conduct reveals the false nature of the promise of protection of its vitality and rights, which the civil governor, with insolent hypocrisy, had covered the walls in Flanders. Actual attacks and infringement on the rights of private citizens belie the enemy's promises. As the King himself, so does the Government feel most deeply every new wrong inflicted on our country, but, in spite of such doleful martyrology, it remains convinced of an ultimate victory, absolute confidence in Belgium's indestructible future, and through the curtain of darkness which now envelops it, dares to behold the dawn of its high destinies."

This telegram bears the following signatures :

MM. de Broqueville, Carton de Wiart, Baron Beyens, Berryer, Poullet, Van de Vyvere, Helleputte, Hubert, Renkin, Segers, Count Goblet d'Alviella, Hymans, Van der Velde. (1)

The following is the King's answer to the telegram :

"I wish to thank the Government for the patriotic sentiments expressed in its telegram.

I share its indignation relatively to the fate of increasing bitterness through the present handling of our people, which, after so many hardships bravely endured, must now face the worst forms of slavery, servitude, and exile. We must offer a most vehement protest to Neutral Nations that they may be induced in the name of the laws of humanity to use all their influence to abolish such intolerable abuse.

Upon the resistance of our population, the valiance of our army and the loyalty of the Government to the crown, I base deep and steadfast faith in the future of Belgium."

(S.) Albert.

The Presidents of the House of Representatives and of the Senate have also telegraphed in the name of the bodies they preside :

"When in contradiction with the laws of humanity, our unhappy brethren are being violently torn from their homes, deported to Germany and reduced to labour by force of arms, a form of slavery barely disguised, we unanimately turn to our King, knowing we shall fall in with his sentiments, and we protest with all our energy in the name of the Belgian people, against such barbaric treatment. More than ever before, it seems that, whatever the duration of our national sufferings, they must be endured with obstinate submission until the day of reckoning, grouped as we are into an indissoluble union, all our strength, with but one motive, victory, the only means of assuring an honorable peace both compensating and lasting."

The King's answer to the Presiding Members of the House and Senate was as follows :

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(1) We are just receiving the very interesting *Mémoire du Gouvernement du Roi sur la déportation et le travail forcé de la population civile belge ordonnés par le gouvernement allemand*, dated February 1st.

"I thank the Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives, for the wishes expressed in your patriotic telegram. I share your indignation relative to the mesures, waxing more rigorous and vexatious, which the occupying authorities adopt with our unfortunate populations who suffer all with unfaltering moral courage.

(S.) ALBERT.

The Belgian Government has also protested to the Allies and the Neutral Powers as follows :

"The Belgian Government has already, upon several occasions, denounced to Neutral Powers, these violations of the Law of Nations, and principles of humanity of which German authorities have been guilty in Belgium.

The latest informations received from occupied Belgium confirm other facts which the King's government was reluctant to believe. They will revolt public conscience in every country where right and justice are honoured.

A decree of German headquarters, dated the 3rd of October, 1916, enforces labour upon all Belgians capable of working, who, being unemployed, or for other reasons, are depending upon public charity for support. The individuals to whom this decree is applicable may be obliged to work outside their homes, that is deported to Germany in a state equivalent to that of slavery.

Communications with that part of Belgium occupied by the Germans being extremely difficult, the King's government was unable to obtain details relative to the manner in which the decree of the 3rd of October last was applied.

The Government now has it, from authentic source, that the valid population is being transported in masses. Rich or poor, employed or unemployed, are seized upon relentlessly. On the 24th of October last, more than 15,000 men had been taken from Flanders alone. Entire trains filled with these poor people have been seen, making for Germany. Others were sent to French quarters occupied by the German armies. As many of these wagons were uncovered the men they contained suffered untold privations, and in their miserable condition, their high spirits never failed them. They suffered this new form of oppression singing patriotic airs.

Courtrai, Alost, Termonde, Bruges, Ghent and Mons, were swept of their valid men, also many of the surrounding rural and industrial districts. The men were assembled, inspected like cattle, and the best sent away to parts unknown.

At Bruges, the burgomaster, an old man of eighty, who had given the example of the most noble patriotism ever since the German occupation, was dismissed for having refused to help the German administration in its revolting work. The City was condemned to a fine of 100,000 marks for each of every day of delay in enlisting its victims.

Up to the 24th of October, the transportation had been practiced in the halting-places. In the remainder of the country, the civil government no doubt hesitated to take such a step, said measure being a violation not only of the spirit but of the text of The Hague Convention, and also the solemn promise, made the population by posters on the 25th July 1915, that no oath or enforced labour against patriotic sentiment would be exacted of it.

However, the Royal Government, having learnt that a census of the unemployed is being taken in those parts occupied by German authorities, fears the horrors of deportation over the entire country.

The "Gazette de Cologne" in an article which the Belgian papers received an order to publish, attempts to justify the iniquitous measures adopted with regard to Belgians. It expatiates upon the dangers of idleness and casts the responsibility of this idleness upon England, who prohibits the importation into Belgium of raw material. The journalistic medium of the German Government thus pretends to legitimate its act by assuring the Belgians that they will be employed only in quarries, at lime-kilns, and other industries of a similar nature, not connected with war operations.

This last argument is worthless, for every one knows the import ce of cement, brick, and other materials the product of lime-kilns or quarries, in trench-building.

To this attempt to shirk all responsability for having reduced the Belgian labouring-classes to their present conditions, we would answer that

the majority of the Belgian population would not be without employment had it not been for the invader's complete disorganisation of industry : the taking-away of all raw material, oils, and ores which it requires; the requisitioning of machinery and tools, awaiting the auction of transmission belts, of which a complete inventory was exacted. Metallurgical and glass industries have been threatened, to the profit of German competition by the high tariff imposed upon such exportations to Holland, their sole remaining traffic centre.

The Belgian labourer is renowned for his activity. If for two years, he has been found idle, it was because the alternative was helping the enemy. His patriotism forbade him that step, for indirectly, he would have been working against his country.

The invader, by means of a barbarous system of deportation "in bulk" — has two ends in view : To terrorize the people by the despair brought into the homes, and to force the men to cooperate with the German Government.

This manœuvre is facilitated by the announcement that all persons receiving help for their subsistance would be obliged to work. The laborer whose devotion to his country withheld him from serving the ennemy was confronted with exile and positive slavery.

Deportation is now the coercive means of obtaining work from the Belgian who conscience forbade him to accept previous offers.

The second motive of the German authorities contemplates the substitution of Belgian workmen for German, leaving the latter free to go to the front. The need of men is imperative.

There the only motive that of providing employment to the Belgian workmen, could they not manage to supply them with work in their own country employing them in various public works, in proximity with their families and their homes ?

Not only has Germany not done this, but it has in more than one instance, of which we know from authentic sources, planned the idleness of labourers who had never ceased to work, rendering it impossible for them to obtain employment, with the intention of appropriating their labour.

German newspapers have said that tempting salaries have been offered them if they consent to work willingly, and, in this case, any sort of work may be given them.

They seek to induce these unhappy people to execute certain tasks which help the war directly, alleging they wish to improved their lot. The Belgian deportee has therefore to choose between famine and treason.

The Royal Government denounces to all civilized nations proceedings which thrust aside all laws of humanity, as well as the rules of war regulating the powers of the occupant.

It protests with utmost energy against the application of a system, which the enemy vainly explains, designated and censured as white-slavery, a disgrace to German occupation which poses as protecting the legitimate rights of the population of Flanders.

The following is the text of the protestation sent from Le Hâvre, in the name of the Belgian Parliament, to the Parliaments of the Allied and the Neutral countries, by MM. Schollaert and Goblet d'Alviella, respectively presidents of the House of Representatives and Senate of Belgium.

" Speaking in the name of the Belgian Parliament, actually in the impossibility of meeting, we beg to call your attention to the document enclosed herewith, which has reached us through unquestionable means and the authenticity of which we can certify.

It confirms the protestation which our Minister of Foreign Affairs has impressed our Government, relatively to the recent outrages which victimize our unfortunate Belgian populations to-day. This document was framed in Belgium, by delegates of all the labour organizations of all the political parties." (1)

(1) The text of this document is published page 37.

" In this manifesto, the Belgian labourers address their brethren of all foreign countries. In reality, their cry of distress is bound to reach the hearts of all who have preserved a sense of justice and humanity, particularly to those among our colleagues of various Parliaments who have beneath their care, in their respective countries, the great principles of modern politics : *Right* and *Liberty*."

" After having vainly tried bribery and intimidation to tame the patriotism of the Belgians, the German authorities are now seen to resort to proceedings which we had thought were long banished from our society : deportation in masses and slavery. It is from an entire population that the means and opportunities to work are withdrawn, and later under the pretext that they are idlers, attempts are made to reduce the people to forced labour to the exclusive benefit of the invader. Those who refuse to contribute to such labour, which they know to destined to the military service of their enemy's country, are immediately taken away from their families, packed in cattle-trucks and sent to parts unknown, where their courage and dignity are tried to the limit by famine and ill-treatment. The brutality of the means employed to attain their results and the hypocrisy with which the brutes discuss a state of idleness which they themselves have created, is at once evident."

" The nations whose fortune it has been to remain outside this struggle should nevertheless understand that to-day, all peoples are jointly reliable, and that each is equally interested in condemning these tentatives to restore to our present day civilization the most odious practices of barbarous invasions. Perhaps an energetic protestation of the peoples' conscience, formulated by their lawful representatives, might yet deliver these unfortunate people who raise their shackled hands to you, or at least put an end to the slavery proceedings of the Germans which tend to the depopulation of Belgium which they have racked and ruined."

The following is the text of the Belgian Government protest against the deportations, submitted to the Secretary of State, at Washington :

" The situation in Belgium becomes more and more terrible every day. The rounding-up of able-bodied Belgians is now being carried out throughout the country. When not compelled to work in Germany in munition factories they are sent to occupied France to build trenches and strategic railways. The Germans announce that they will deport 350,000 Belgians. Requisitions continue with the avowed object of ruining the country's industries. All materials which could be of use to the Germans are carried off by them; all other material are sold at ridiculously low prices. The Governor General has declared to the " New York Times " that the deportations are made without any complaint from those deported : this is false.

As a matter of fact, the victims endure moral torture, acute physical suffering and all the disgrace of slavery. The German Government seek to justify their action by pleading the necessity of checking unemployment ; they have in fact, promoted unemployment by obstructing the municipalities in their attempts to engage the unemployed on public works, and forbidding the opening up of coal mines in Limbourg.

Belgium is abandoned to the violence of the military authorities, and this is approved of and acquiesced in by the civil authorities."

His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier, who has manifested the most ardent patriotism, has protested once more against the abuse of power. His protest against the deportation of Belgians to Germany, as follows (1) :

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

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(1) Published in a pamphlet : *A signal of distress from the belgian bishops to public opinion.*

As early as October 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which has handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protestation the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every ablebodied man is carried off, pellmell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournai, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2, it occurred in the region of Mons, Quiévrain, Saint-Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days it occurred in the arrondissement of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings :

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time), 9 o'clock, (Central time), bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers, and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communes the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communes proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposes under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that noncomplaisance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passes from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissements to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts : the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows :

"You are well aware that public order is in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their

technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still mounting up at the rate of forty millions a month ; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople, such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare they will send our unemployed, that our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms : Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the regime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order ; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants ; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal.

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under pressure, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery, without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty — deportation. They don't know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign — by coercion or by threats — an engagement which they dare to call "**voluntary**".

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number — in the proportion of one quarter for the arrondissement of Mons — of men who were never out of work and belonging to diversified professions — butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other higher schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age of those who would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liege, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy, the written declaration which was read on Sunday, Oct. 18, 1914. in all the parochial churches of the province of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp, extending them to the whole country, without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval

and, in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary, to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of Oct. 16 last to Baron von Bissing, after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded : " Your Excellency will understand how painful the burden of responsibility I should have incurred toward families would be if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied : " The employment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man was terminable at the end of a year or two ! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitely exclude both military operations and forced labor ! As if, in fine every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman dit not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army !

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII, as he blessed his mission, remarked : " Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose : Honor above everything ! " Nihil praeferendum honestati ! "

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.

(S.) D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Mr. von Bissing's letter of the 26th of October, set forth that two years' warfare had brought about abnormal circumstances; that the measures adopted were the inevitable consequence; that they were taken in the interest of the Belgian labourers, for they were applied only to the unemployed who might become accustomed to habits of idleness.

Naturally the fault lay with England, which latter has exiled Germany, and the slavery of the Belgians was decreed to the welfare of our compatriots !

Cardinal Mercier lost not time in straightening matters, as the following letter will evince :

" I retrain from expressing the sentiments aroused in me by your letter (I.10051) in answer to the one I had the honour to address you on the 19th, of October last, in connection with the deportation of the unemployed." „

I remember with some sadness, the emphatic words Your Excellence pronounced before me, upon your arrival at Brussels :

" I hope hat our relations will be loyal... I have received the mission of healing the wounds of Belgium."

My letter of the 19th of October reminded Your Excellence of the engagements taken by the Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, ratified a few days later by the Baron von der Goltz, your predecessor to the Governorship of Brussels.

The engagement is explicit, absolute, with indefinite time. "The young men need have fear of being brought ot Germany, enlisted in the army or condemned to labour."

This engagement is violated every day, thousands of times, since two weeks.

The Baron von Huene and the late Baron von der Goltz did not say conditionally as your message of the 26th of October would imply. "If the occupation does not outlast two years, men apt for military service will not be taken into captivity, they clearly specified that : "The young men, and more so, the older men, will, at no time during the occupation, be either emprisoned or subject to forced labour."

As justification, Your Excellence calls to evidence "the conduct of England and France, who, you say, have taken from neutral ships all Germans between the ages of 17 and 50, for internment in concentration camps.

If England and France, had committed some injustice, it is upon those respective countries that vengeance should be taken, and not upon an inoffensive and disarmed people.

But has there been injustice ?... We are poorly informed as to what goes on outside our prison walls; but I am strongly inclined to believe that the Germans interned belong to the German military reserve. They were therefore military men whom France and England had a right to intern.

Belgium has inaugurated general personal service since August 1913.

Belgians of 17 to 30 years of age, residing in occupied Belgium, are now civilians and non-combattants. It is playing upon words to class them with German reservists by calling them "men apt for military service."

The decrees, notices, press comments, destined to pave the way to the event, sought to influence public opinion by stating that unemployed workmen, were a burden upon official charity.

It is not true, as has already affirmed my letter of the 19th of October, that our workmen have disturbed or even threatened exterior order, anywhere. Five million Belgians and hundreds of Americans are witness to the unalterable dignity and patience of our working-classes. It is not true that the workmen who are unemployed are a burden to either the occupying powers or the relief societies which they preside. The National Committee is the only purveyor to the victims of enforced idleness, and the occupant has no active part in this Committee.

These two answers have remained without comment.

The letter of the 26th of October attempts justification in another quarter. It alleges that the measures adopted with the idlers were prompted by "social and economic causes."

"It is because it has a greater and more intelligent interest in the Belgian nation, that the German Government would save the workingman from idleness, and prevent him from losing his technical skill.

Enforced labour is the counter-value of economical advantages, which become ours through commercial interchange with the empire.

Moreover, if the Belgian must complain of this state of things, let it be to England, she is the supremely guilty one : is she, who, through her isolation policy, has created this constraint."

To this discourse embarrassed complicated in the text, it will suffice to oppose a few frank and brief statements : The essential fact.

Each Belgian workman will fill in the gap left by the German labourer, making another soldier for the German army. This is the dominant fact which rules the situation. The author of the letter himself senses this burning question, for he says : "The measure does not bear upon the conduct of the war, properly speaking." It does, therefore bear upon it, "indirectly speaking," which implies without denial, that the Belgian workman does not enlist, but releives the German workman who is sure to do so."

The Belgian workman is thus forced to cooperate indirectly, but evidently, in war against his country. This is manifestly against the spirit of The Hague Conventions.

Other declaration : idleness is caused, not by the Belgian labourer, nor by England; it is the outcome of German occupancy.

The occupant has seized upon the stores or raw material which were intended for our national industries. It has seized upon and despatched to Germany the machinery, tools, metals of our workshops and rolling-mills. The possibility of national employment precluded, there was for the labourer,

but one alternative work for the German Empire, either here or in Germany, or remain idle some ten thousand workmen, pressed by fear of hunger accepted, work abroad ; but 400,000 labourers of both sexes preferred to idleness with all its privations, rather the interests of their country. They lived in poverty, with the meagre help of the "Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation, controlled by Spanish, American and Dutch Ministers of State.

Calm and dignified, they bore their fate without murmur. Nowhere was there even the appearance of revolt. Employers and employees patiently awaited the end of their trials. However communal administrations, and individual effort concerted to alleviate the undeniable draw-backs of idleness. But the occupying administration has paralyzed their attempts.

The "Comité National" tried to organize professional teaching for the benefit of the unemployed. This practical instruction mindful of the dignity of our workmen, was destined to keep them in condition, cultivate their skill, and anticipate the restoration of the country. Who then, opposed this high initiative, the plans of which were designed, by our chief industrial men ? The occupying Power !

As a last resort, the municipalities endeavoured to employ the workmen in works of public utility ; the Governor General, subjected these enterprises to his authorisation, which as a rule he refused to grant. I am assured that, in several cases, the Governor General authorized the execution of such enterprises on the condition that it be not confided idlers.

Idleness therefore was planned and an army of idlers was being recruited.

And, in view of these facts, one has the hardihood to accuse the labourer of... laziness ! No, the Belgian labourer is not lazy. He has a cult for labour. In his noble struggle in the fields of economic life, he has left his mark. When he refused labour abroad at a tempting salary, it was through patriotic dignity. We, the pastor of our flock, who follow the sufferings of our people more closely than ever, we know what it has cost them to prefer independance and privation to an easy-circumstanced subjection.

Do not cast him the stone for he has a right to your respect.

The letter of the 29th of October says that the first one to be guilty of the idleness of our workmen was England, because she did not allow raw material to enter Belgium.

England generously allows all means of revictualizing controlled by Neutral States of Spain, the United States and Holland. She would certainly permit the importation of the material necessary to our industries, if Germany would agree not to requisition our manufactured products.

But Germany, by various proceedings, notably, the organisation of its "Centrales" upon which neither Belgians nor our protecting Ministers can exercise any effectual control, absorbs a considerable portion of over agricultural and industrial products. The result is an increase in the cost of living, causing utter privation to those without resource. The "community of interests" which your letter claims for our advantage is not the normal and balanced interchange of commerce, but the predominance of the mighty over the powerless.

This state of economical inferiority to which we are reduced, is misrepresented as a privilege which would justify enforced labour to the ennemy's advantage, and the deportation of legions of inoffensive men to exile.

Slavery and that punishment the most "painful of the penal code after capital punishment deportation.

Had Belgium, who has never done you an ill turn, deserved this treatment which cries to Heaven for vengeance ?

Your Excellency, at the outset of my letter, I recalled those noble words : "I have come to Belgium to heal its wounds."

Were it possible for you to penetrate the households of our labourers, as have our priests, and hear the lamentations of wives and mothers who mourn their dear ones in the greatest dread, you would then realise that these wounds are open to the quick.

One hears the remark : Two years ago, it was death, sacking and incendiarism — that was war ! To-day it is worse, cold calculation — the imposition of might upon right, the degrading of human individuality, this is a challenge to humanity.

It will rest with your Governorship to hush the cries of revolted conscience. May God, whom we invoke with all the fervour of our soul for our poor oppressed people, inspire you the mercy of the Good Samaritan.

I beg Your Excellency to accept the homage of my very high consideration.

(S.) Cardinal Mercier.

Mr. M. Bruynseels, Cardinal Mercier's delegate to Holland, communicated the text of the allocution pronounced by the archbishop of Malines, on the 26 of November, 1916, in the collegiate church of St. Gudule, at Brussels.

After having instantly recommended collectedness before and after the office the Cardinal expressed himself as follows :

"The last four or five weeks have been for me the most painful of all my life, the most agonizing of my episcopal career ; the fathers and mothers who surround me now will understand why.

I have seen hundreds of my flock in danger, and in tears. For three days, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, day and night, I went over that territory from which the first workmen of my diocese were taken away by force to a land of exile. At Wavre, Court Saint-Etienne, Nivelles, Tubize and Braine l'Alleud, I crossed more than a hundred threatholds half deserted. The husbar . was absent, the children now orphans, and the sisters, sitting inert, at their sewing machines, sad-eyed; a silence of death reigned in the homes. One might have thought they sheltered a corpse.

But hardly had we found one word of sympathy for the poor mother, than the sabs and lamentations would be heard, and accents of wrath and expressions of magnificient pride.

The memory of these heart-breaking scenes is with me always.

I would also go through Antwerp, Tirlemont, Diest, and everywhere elsewhere there is grief to console, tears to dry and hearts to cheer.

But I can go no further : our strength and leisure give way under the strain of our good will.

Therefore, my very dear brethren, I thought of coming to you here, the centre of my diocese, of our country... You will propagate my thoughts, and be the interpreters of my sentiments.

Faithful to the traditional salutation of bishops I would, say to you : "Pax vobis." May peace be with you, I bring you words of peace."

I tell you how, dear brethren, and without hatred or in spirit of retaliation. I would be unworthy of the episcopal ring with which the Church has honored me, and of placed cross on my breast, if, yielding to some human passion I hesitated to proclaim that violated right is still right, and injustice based upon might is none less injustice.

But peace accompanies order, and order rests upon justice and charity.

We want order, and that is why we have asked, at the outset, not to oppose the occupying power by active resistance, and to submit without revolt, the regulations which violate neither christian conscience nor patriotic dignity. But the occupying power also should want order, that is, the respect of our rights and of our engagements.

Mankind, in civilized country, has the right to dispose of his labour, he has right to his home. He has the right to reserve his services for his country. The rules which violate these rights do not bind the conscience."

I most humbly beg, our heavenly King, from whom all authority is derived, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to grant us the safe return of our captive workmen, to protect the homes as yet intact, awaiting the day, when, in the peace of victory, we may kneel at the altar of our Lady of Liberty

Be of good cheer, dear Brethren ; be respectful of the teaching of Christ and faithful to Belgium, our country."

(S.) Card. Mercier.

Cardinal Mercier's last letter to Mr. von Bissing is admirable and quotes precise facts. It deserves a careful perusal :

"The letter which it has pleased Your Excellency to write me under date of November 23rd instant, is for me a deception. From several sources which I had reason to believe exactly informed it was stated that Your Excellency had made it a duty to protest to the Highest Authorities of the Empire against the measures which Your Excellency is constrained to apply to Belgium. I therefore hoped, at least, a delay in the application of these measures while they were being submitted to a new consideration and an alleviation to the processes employed in their execution. But now, without a single word of answer to any of the arguments by which I was asserting in my letters of October 19th and of November 10th, the anti-social and anti-juridical character of the condemnation of the Belgian working class to forced labor and to deportation, Your Excellency contents himself in resuming in his despatch of November 23 the very text of his letter of October 26. Both letters of Your Excellency, that of November 23 and the former of October 26, are identical in the main point and almost so in the form.

On the other hand, the recruiting of alleged unemployed is being done most commonly without any regard for the local authorities' observations. Several reports which I now have in my hands go to further prove that the clergymen are brutally put aside, the burgomasters and communal counsellors forced to remain silent ; the recruiters therefore find themselves in the presence of unknown individuals and citizens among whom their choice must necessarily become arbitrary. Instances of cases such as I am now stating are plentiful; here are two most recent ones, among a large number of others that I reserve for Your Excellency's good pleasure. On November 21st the recruiting was going on through the commune of Kersbeeck-Miscom. Among the 1,523 inhabitants whom this commune counted all told, the recruiters carried away exactly 94 men in a massed group, without any distinction of social conditions or of trade and profession, farmers' sons who were the sole support of aged and invalid parents, fathers of families forced to leave in distress wives and children, all of them as necessary to their kin as their daily bread. Two families have been robbed of four sons each the same day. Among these 94 deported, there were exactly two unemployed men.

In the Aerschot region, the recruiting was held on November 22. In Rillaer, in Gelrode, in Roselaer, youths who have a widowed mother to support, farmers at the head of large families, one of them over fifty years of age, has ten children-tillers of their own lands, owing many heads of cattle who never received a "sou" from public charity, were taken away forcibly from their homes in spite of all forms of protestation. In the same small commune of Rillaer, the recruiters took away as many as 25 youths not over 17 years of age.

Your Excellency had expressed the desire that the Communal Administrations should become the accomplices of this odious system of recruiting. According to their legal status and conscientiously they could not do so. But they could give good information to the recruiters and as far as that is concerned, they are perfectly qualified. The priests also who know better than any one else the lowest sort of people, would be precious auxiliaries for the recruiters. Why is their co-operation denied ?

In concluding his letter, Your Excellency reminds me of the fact that the men belonging to the liberal professions are not disturbed nor troubled. If the unemployed alone were carried away, I would understand such an exception. But if this system of enlisting indiscriminately all valid men is continued, the exception is not justified.

It would be iniquitous to impose this deportation upon the working class alone. The middle (bourgeoise) class must also have its part in the sacrifice, however cruel it may be and so much more just that it is cruel which the occupant imposes upon the nation. Numerous are the members of my clergy who have begged of me to claim for them a place in the vanguard of the persecuted. I have duly registered the offer and submit it to you with pride.

I am still open to believe that the authorities of the Empire have not spoken their final word. They will reflect *upon our undeserved sufferings,*

upon the reprobation of the civilized world, upon the judgment of history AND UPON GOD'S OWN CHASTISEMENT.

Please accept, Excellency, the homage of my very high consideration.

(S.) CARD. MERCIER.

The Belgian Senators and Representatives have addressed to Mr. von Bissing an energetic protestation against the raids in Belgium. Here is a translation of the authentic text of the protestation :

It seemed indeed that Belgium had plumbed the lowest depths of misery since its occupation by the invader. With our right abolished, our industry and commerce paralysed, our raw material and labour instruments exported, with public fortune ruined, and the utter destitution of families formerly prosperous, with privations and mourning, we had endured our fate without other revolt than the mute protest of the soul, and without disturbing public order. An immense wave of solidarity had united all classes regardless of social distinctions ; there was but one community where the sufferings of the others, alleviated, that of the individual.

And now, another violence is afflicting our families and tearing them asunder.

Hundreds, may, thousands of peaceful citizens of every age and condition, a whole civilian population is roughly, brutally torn from its home and deported to Germany. Where, to which part of the Empire — no one knows. What will its existence be ? To what work will it be condemned ? As many mysteries.

By these deportations, thousands of women and children, as well as aged men are left without support, and suffer the anguish of a separation the term of which is unknown, and the sight of their desolation is such that, to escape it, the recruiters refuse these heart broken wives and mothers the consolation of a last farewell.

It is hardly necessary to insist upon these scenes which are staged in certain districts since several weeks and which threaten to spread from village to village until it victim-actors are counted by the hundred thousands. The posters hung on the walls and reproduced in the papers till the story : everywhere the same proceedings, as curt as they are ghastly. Arrests in masses ; men classed arbitrarily among the unemployed, then selected and despatched to parts unknown. To speak only of the posters put up yesterday at Nivelles, Virginal, Ittre, Haut-Ittre, Lillois, Baulers, Montreux, Bornival, Thines, Braine-l'Alleud, Orphain, Wauthier-Braine, Waterloo, Plancenoit, they summon without distinction with the recommendation that each bring a small hand valise, "all persons of the male-sex, from 17 upward, with the exception of clergymen, doctors, lawyers and professors only." The control of the unemployed is no longer limited ; and it is now recognized abroad that the preoccupation over the latter is but a pretext. Would they not have provided adequate means of keeping them busy by leaving them their machinery, their tools and workshops, their provisions and raw materials, their communication facilities and the freedom to dispose of their labour ?

Philanthropists had imagined to provide labour for the men thrown out of employment by organizing public utility ; works of but their initiative was overthrown and finally crusted. Others had ingeniously organized a vast system of technical instruction destined to enhance the professional worth of these forced idlers, but that plan, too, was overthrown, as was the effort to create a system of information and employment offices.

But the authorities find it preferable to supply them work in Germany, where the representatives of the Industrie-Bureau promise them "a good salary" if they consent to be hired "voluntarily" and where, if they refuse, forced labour attended by famine wages await them.

Upon what physical and moral depression do they not count to force the hand of these Belgians ? Undoubtedly, it has been affirmed that the employment shall be foreign to warfare, but from all quarters we hear the answer : Every Belgian workman fills the gap left by the German labourer who goes to strengthen the Kaiser's armies. What labour is more odious than that which is against the native land ; to serve Germany is to obviously that. To enforce such service is a contradiction to the Law of Nations,

alluded to by Your Excellence in the decree of August 15th, 1915, and also against the spirit, if not the text, of the fourth The Hague Convention of 1907.

"A measure such as the displacement of non-combatant civilian populations" writes Mr. Ernest Nys, Professor of International Law, in his letter of pres.. date, annexed herewith, and addressed to the Burgomaster of Brussels, ".. in absolute contradiction with the notion of occupancy during the war; the latter has replaced the old theory of conquest by which the conqueror became the sovereign of the conquered; the conqueror is duty bound to respect the rights of the peaceful inhabitants."

It is in the name of these sacred rights, openly violated, that the Senators and Representatives whose signatures appear below, mandates of the Belgian Nation, present at Brussels, address to Your Excellency the solemn protest of the numberless families who suffer under the effects of the cruel edict which has stirred up indignation the country over, and which will not fail to provoke the reprobation of all the civilized world.

The signees beg Your Excellence to assert, with regard to the military authorities, the high prerogatives of your station to avoid the consummation af an act unprecedented in modern warfare, and likewise beg Your Excellence to accept the assurance of their highest consideration

"Not content with having sacked, ravaged and ruined the invaded countries, these Teuton barbarians assailed the unarmed and inoffensive civilian populations with all the instincts of enraged beasts, priests, old men, women and children were put to death, by the thousand, and that in conditions of refined cruelty so fierce that the mind refuses to conceive them and we would not believe them had we not ourselves lived through these terrible days of carnage

And however, the frightful brute which this infernal nation constitutes was not to stop at this. Scorning unto the most sacred laws of humanity of which it cannot conceive the most sacred duties — the Germany of Horrors was to reach the climax of its nameless crimes.

Powerless to curb the Belgian people beneath its yoke Germany did not recall before another infamy, and after having begun in the North of France the deportations which aroused universal indignation, she restores slavery for a people who since twenty centuries has proved its right to independance and who, by its industry, its intelligence, its letters and arts, its love of liberty and unswerving loyalty have deserved the esteem and admiration of the civilized world. More than 100,000 Belgians of all ages and classes have been brutally snatched from their homes, and, such as sheep, transported to German haunts where supreme defiance of civilization, they are made to labour against their country, their fathers, their own children.

And the leaders who conduct these bands of brigands are so blinded by their infamies and horrors that they commit their crimes in the name of Divinity; whom they odiously blaspheme, still having the unconcevable hypocrisy of pretending to adore it.

"God is with us" they clamour, and they murder His priests, slaughter children, torture the aged, and ravish women.

"God leads our armies" they howl, and they sack and destroy, in their sacrilegeous rage, the temples of that God whom they make an accomplice !

When we hear such a people threaten to govern the world we wonder without understanding, how their can remain upon earth, a single nation which remain neutral in face of a conflict which will decide the fate of all the world.

Von Bissing's answer to this protestation follows :

To the Minister of State de Favereau,

President of the Belgian Senate,

"In answer to your letter of the 9th of November, 1916, in which you ask me to desist the transportations of Belgians to Germany, I must answer than I cannot comply with your demand.

Since the outset of this war, a large number of Belgian workmen have given up work. The reason is, on one hand, the closing of several industrial establishments from lack of raw material owing to isolation created by the enemy and on the other hand, the refusal of labour.

The extensive duration of such conditions is beginning to tell upon the population, and, as administrator of the occupied territory, it is my duty, conformably to the principles of the law of nations, to take adequate measures.

Forsighted Belgians came to me as early as the spring of 1915, and called my attention to the dangers of idleness, and a consequent distaste for work.

They explained how relief, from any source whatever, constituted in the end, a charge upon Belgian political economy, and how it encouraged the labourers to habits of sloth. As a result, the workmen are weakening, both physically and morally, particularly the most talented are wasting their talents and efficiency, and will be useless to Belgian industry once the war over.

It is guided by these motives that, in collaboration with the competent Belgian Ministry, in August, 1915, my ordinances against idleness were issued, completed in May 15th, 1916.

These decrees do not imply forced labour unless an unemployed labourer, to whom a reasonable salary has been offered in connection with his capacity for labour, still refuses to work without sufficient reasons, and who thereby falls to the charge of public charity.

Will be recognized as legitimate excuse to refuse labour, reasons founded upon the law of nations. Upon this consideration, no one can be forced to undertake war enterprises. These ordinances rest upon sound reason, subjecting the liberty of industry to collective interests. Circumstances already existing in 1915 and which have since brought on public calamity, it is a question of interpreting this ordinance in the most effectual manner.

To this effect, nominal lists must be supplied by the burgomasters. To the idlers inscribed thereupon, in special reunions, we offer labour with remuneration. As there is employment for but workers in the general domains, this labour must then be executed in Germany.

Unemployed who do not accept our offers, at these conventions, are conducted by force to Germany. There they receive a salary, somewhat less than those who enlist willingly.

I hope we will be obliged to resort to such measures only in exceptional cases. A large portion of the simple population, has already, in correct appreciation, understood this circumstance and have willingly come to Germany by tens of thousands, where they are treated with the same consideration as German workmen, and contrary to their companions remaining in Belgium in a state of misery, are now comfortably settled.

You must therefore admit, after these details, that the economical interests of Belgium are safeguarded owing to the transportation of the unemployed to Germany.

In advising the unemployed in this sense, you render them the best of services, and when to the contrary, you force the German authorities to adopt stringent measures.

If harshness accompanies the transportations and if employed workmen are brought away the fault lies with the burgomasters who either refused to submit the required lists or who presented them incomplete.

(S.) Generaloberst Baron von Bissing.

The Governor General's answer containing several inexact statements, as usual, the Parliamentarians hastened to reply in the following terms :

Excellency,

We have just received through the President of the Senate, Baron de Favereau, communication of your answer of November 16th to the letter which the Ministers of the Belgian Parliament sitting at Brussels on the 9th of November last, had the honour to address you.

Without taking the time to consult all our colleagues of whom many are retained in the country, convinced, on the other hand, that we interpret their thoughts and sentiments we do not wish to defer the expression of our increasing indignation at the treatment inflicted upon thousands of our compatriots condemned without other proceedings to deportation and forced labour.

We might have expected that, under the blow of universal reprobation, upon the cries and pleadings from every quarter, Germany would suspend

further arrestations; but each day brings us recitals of fresh expeditions which raise to their zenith the sufferings, tears and indignation of our people.

Not a detail of these measures, the brutality with which they are executed, the scenes of despair which accompany them, and which we have mentioned, has been denied. Of this, we take formal note.

But your Excellence would have us reassure the unemployed, and point out the fact that if these measures are taken, it is with a view to public utility, for their happiness, to stimulate chronic in activity which is wasting their talent and demoralizing them, as well as to withdraw them from the distress inflicted by the Allies' blockade.

Bitter derision !

What, may we ask, would these representations be worth with our working population, instructed by two years past experience ? Would it not accuse us of trifling with their sufferings ?

But, since these alleged reasons are propagated by a complaisant press, and that they may stray to foreign countries where they will misinform neutrals, let us bring them forward for consideration.

Your Excellency attributes the prevailing idleness to the isolation created by the "enemy, on one hand, and to the ill-will of the labourers, on the other."

Isolation !... Had it depended only upon the Allies, whose ardent and generous sympathies have sustained us in our untold sufferings, Belgium would have revived speedily enough from her ruins and the stagnation of commerce. Your Excellency is acquainted with the fact that England was helping to reorganize industry in Belgium, on the same basis as the food supplies are organized, that is, under diplomatic control, too unquestionable a guarantee to be refuted. Yet, it was, by Your Imperial Government, who refused to acknowledge subscriptions on a large scale, reserving the privilege of considering the cases individually. The projet of combination then had to be abandoned undoubtedly under the stress of competing German industrials, discounting the consequent total ruin of Belgian industry.

Ill-will!... Had it depended only upon our workmen and their patrons the question of idleness would soon have been settled between themselves without unsurmountable obstacles, thanks ot their mutual concessions, and their spirit of solidarity. No patron, no labourer would have interrupted his ordinary tasks if the occupying power had not rendered them subsequently and systematically impraticable.

One must have the courage to admit it, Your Governorship, and pray do not take offense, if there are still unemployed labourers in Belgium. The responsibility lies neither with the Belgians nor with the English, but decidedly with the German authorities, who employed every available means in creating them; and they have not rendered idleness inevitable, but they have deliberately maintained it by objecting to the reassumption of industry there where private or public administration where in charge.

We are well aware of the gravity of such a statement; but it is fully demonstrated, the official acts alone being supporting data.

In fact, it is only necessary to refer to the decrees published since December 11th, 1914, to conclude simultaneously that all one portion of our national industries has been systematically robbed of its stock and means of production, exhausted, paralyzed and without resource, owing to the requisitioning of machinery, apparatus, and raw material: metals, textiles, manufactured products, regulation of traffic, the institution of controls, the disorganization of railroads, the seizure of the rolling stock of our central railroads, the suppression of certain lines, the requisition of saddlery, notwithstanding the most formal promises which have remained ignored.

Apart from workshops, factories, manufactures, farms and breedinglands thus put to rack and ruin, certain industries have survived, spared as by miracle, and kept up with important orders of Belgian patrons. They were the glassworks, the iron and rolling-mills, the earthware manufactures and others. Many of them were sequestered, that is closed down while in full motion, their working staff going to swell the ranks of the unemployed whose present condition so moves Your Excellency.

However, as public authorities did not despair and continued to supply work to as many as possible.

To speak but of Luxemburg, we can attest wonderful ingenuity and generosity on the part of local administrations, supported by the admirable initiative of individuals to employing the available help for public works,

parcelling out of plantations, and, which means an increased of public property, and to the employed several million dollars three-fourths of which has been raised through private donations.

The program of these works were being extended on a larger scale, a guarantee of daily bread to those who formed a part of it, when, it was abruptly stopped, and superior orders forbade the continuation of the work begun. These orders are in the archives of the communes, and a copy has been attached to the protestations of the Belgian foremen. So that the mandatories of this province may truthfully write that the German authorities were instrumental in bringing about the idleness which they condemn.

We will not push this debate any further than that, if there are idlers the fault is neither theirs not that of the Allies. Neither is it the outcome of circumstances which now hold the world in consternation. Alas! It is not the first time during the course of the war and the calamities it has showered upon our unfortunate country that the innocent victims of it have been accused of being the authors of their sufferings.

Moreover, Your Excellency reminds us, in your answer, that, in the month of August, 1915, the decrees were issued with the consent of the Belgian authorities, destined to provide a remedy to the ill effects of idleness, which was encouraged by public charity. You mention, these decrees were inspired by forethought. But could any of the clauses they contained give to suspect that they conferred the right to enforce labour upon the unwilling, outside of their kingdom, and particularly against it ? In placing those in question under the provisions of the law of nations, they thereby guaranteed the contrary.

What then has resulted ?Instead of abiding by the agreements made in concert with the Belgian administration, Your Excellency has allowed the world to witness measures of such relentless severity that the codes of any civilized nation do not know their equal, and which affect all citizens, indiscriminately, and preferably, not the unemployed, but those whose professional ability are an acquisition to Germany in its death-struggle with the Allies, and to the end of mobilising her civilians and those of the occupied territory.

And this is what Your Excellency calls a " sanction of greater efficacy than the ordinances."

" Nur eine wirksamere Durchfuhrung jener Verordnung ! "

How much greater the frankness of Your Imperial Chancellor when he declared that " necessity knows no law " than this atrocious euphemism. What irony to toss back upon the unemployed the responsibility of the fate which awaits them ! Have they not, you ask, the choice between enforced labour, and a voluntary agreement highly remunerated ? What irony to hold the communal authorities accountable ! Truly, and why do they not submit the lists of unemployed, lists which are destined to become conscription lists !

In that proclamation which inaugurated your administration, you deigned to promise that your program was one of restoration to peace and economical prosperity for the country occupied ; many times, at the Reichstag meetings had the success of your mission called forth applause.

At sight of what is left, in Belgium, of all which a free people had made it, at the cost of half a century's labour, history will say what this restoration proved to be.

History will also relate that the dismantling and depopulation of our occupied territory, were not consummated to the invader's profit without recording at the same time the cries of revolt of the innocent deportees, which have echoed far and wide throughout the world, the imprecations of their families, and the protestation of public conscience."

The city of Brussels sent Governor General von Bissing the vigourous protest hereafter :

Excellency,

" Advice from the German Governor, lieutenant general Hurt, to the Burgomasters of Greater Brussels and Brabant, published today, announces that the German authorities in Germany mean to deport all unemployed workmen to Germany.

This notice has caused great emotion among our fellow-citizens.

Public sentiment considers these deportations beginning of slavery in Belgium.

You will easily understand how deep the thrust at personal liberty, to that profound sentiment of dignity, which have for centuries, been the basis of the high moral standing of the Belgian nation.

The occupying authorities would have us observe that the idleness to which a large portion of our workmen are subject is to be regretted.

And who knows this better than we ?

Who knows better than our valiant working-classes which has always been noted for its ardent and persevering labour.

Our laborers ask nothing better than to resume their former tasks. Our population has ever distinguished itself by its cult to justice and honour.

In political matters, as in things international, Belgium has always contested that right constituted her greatest safety.

Article 43 of The Hague Convention provides that the occupant will respect the laws of the country invaded, unless absolutely prevented from so doing.

Among the laws in Belgium, there is none more sacred nor held more precious to the individual citizen, than that which guarantees his personal liberty, particularly in the labour world.

Nothing, at this moment, seems to justify any infraction of this law.

Are the Belgians responsible for the idleness imposed upon them ? Is the fault theirs if all the raw material, the machinery, etc., are requisitioned ; if horses are scarce ; if the railway service is paralyzed ; if 800,000 meters of railway tracks have been reported in the vicinity of the remaining industrial centres.

Will the charges of public charity be brought into question ?

They are heavy, it is true, but they stint in no way the powers of the occupant, who has not had to cooperate to alleviate the misery of the people.

It is the " Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation " and private initiative which is helping our involuntary idlers, and thus assuming joint responsibility.

Since the Belgian population does not expect material aid from the occupant, is it not right to leave them free to choose their own conditions of labour ?

We are bound to experience a feeling of respect for the workman who, for no other motive than that of not contributing directly or indirectly to help the ennemy, refuse to accept any but patriotic labour.

It is evident, from every stand-point, that the work which Germany wishes to impose upon the workers will contribute exclusively to national fortification, both economically and martially.

This circumstance renders all the clearer the stamps of slavery which characterizes the measures to which our fellow-citizens may have to submit.

Our population has never ceased, since the very outset of the cruel war, to bear all its sufferings with calm, resignation and dignity. The declarations of the German authorities, even then, could but strengthen the Belgians in their purpose.

The Governor-General, Baron von der Goltz, stated in his proclamation of September 2nd, 1914 :

" Belgian citizens wishing to resume their work peacefully have nothing to fear from the German authorities. In every possible way, commerce should be resumed, manufactures should reopen, and the harvests gathered in.

I ask none of you to abdicate your patriotic sentiments, but I expect of you all a reasonable submission, and absolute obedience to the General Government.

I would invite you to confide in the latter, and cooperate with it. I address this invitation particularly to State functionaries, and civic administrators which have remained on duty. The more closely you will respond to this call, the better you will be serving your country."

In October, 1914, in all the churches of the country, upon invitation of Cardinal Mercier, it was announced that the Governor of Antwerp, General Huene, had authorized the said Cardinal to speak in his name and communicate the following declaration, upon approbation of the Governor-General, Baron von der Goltz :

" THE YOUNG MEN NEED NOT FEAR TO BE SENT TO GERMANY, EITHER TO BE RECRUITED FOR THE ARMY, OR, TO BE REDUCED TO ENFORCED LABOUR."

Is it necessary to recall the text of the various notices, posted on the walls of Brussels.

" Brussels, Feb. 19, 1915.

" Who so ever is a member of the home-guard, returned from abroad " to Brussels and vicinity, will not be treated as a prisoner of war but will " be allowed to reside there in perfect freedom, provided he signs an agree- " ment not to take up arms against Germany during this war, nor to under- " take any act which would prove hostile to the German cause.

The Governor,

(S.) Major-General von Kraewel.

" Brussels, March 17, 1915.

" By virtue of an order from the Governor-General of Belgium of the " 13th and 19th of February, 1915 it is prescribed that all the men of Belgian " nationality born from 1892 to 1897 inclusively, who are residing in Brussels, " Anderlecht, Auderghem, Etterbeek, Forest, Ixelles, Jette-Saint-Pierre, " Koekelberg, Laeken, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Schaerbeek, Saint-Josse-ten- " Noode, Saint-Gilles, Uccle, Watermael, Boitsfort, and Woluwe-Saint- " Lambert, will be placed under control by the registration bureau, Deutches, " Meldeamt, Gross-Brussels, to Meridian Street, and to which the above men- " tioned municipalities have supplied the names of all the male subjects born " from 1892 to 1897.

" IT IS EXPRESSLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF INCORPORATING BELGIAN SUBJECTS IN THE GERMAN ARMY, NOR TO TRANSPORT THEM TO GERMANY AS PRISONERS DURING THE TIME WAR IS ON."

" The Governor,

(S) Major-General von Kraewel.

" Brussels, Oct. 22, 1915.

" Dating from the 1rst of November next, the control exercised over " Belgians born in 1892 to 1897 will extended as will to all those born in " 1885 to 1898, inclusively.

" Soldiers (non officers) of the old home-guard, non-active, will be " relinguished from the control of they are over 30 years of age.

" I formally repeat that this control has no other motive than to permit " the authorities to make sure of the presence of the persons inscribed, and " to prevent them from leaving the country.

" THERE IS NO INTENTION OF INCORPORATING THEM " IN THE GERMAN ARMY, NOR OF INTERNING THEM AS PRI- " SONERS OF WAR.

" The Governor-General in Belgium,

(S) " Generaloberst Freiherr von Bissing.

Finally the regulation concerning the Belgian citizens subject to control and born in 1885 to 1898 (Vorschriften fur Meldepflichtige Mannliche Belgier, Geburtsjahr 1885-1898), of which a copy was turned over to all Belgian citizens at the time of their inscription under German control, (Meldeamt) and which had for them the value of a contract, reads :

" It is well understood that the German Government does not intend to incorporate Belgians in the German army, nor to intern them in Germany while war is on.

The present regulation is applicable to Belgians subject to control and inhabiting the following places : Brussels, Anderlecht, Auderghem, etc. (as above mentioned).

Can one conceive a more formal engagement : " THEY WILL NOT BE INCORPORATED IN THE GERMAN ARMY NOR INTERNED IN GERMANY WHILE THE WAR IS ON."

Such formal engagements induced a great number of our fellow citizens, who had sought shelter abroad to return to their native land.

WE COULD NEVER SUPPOSE THAT SUCH SOLEMN PROMISES WOULD BE IGNORED.

As a matter of coarse, we believed that the occupying authorities would maintain its principles of International Law and would respect the sentiments of honor and patriotism of the Belgian people.

Whatever the necessities of war, it seems impossible that the occupying authority persevere in the policy it has adopted and accomplish an act which is bound to revolt all the civilized world.

We beg his Excellency to accept the assurance of our highest consideration."

(S) Burgomaster and Aldermen of Brussels.

The Belgian Scientific Bodies in turn, joined in protest to von Bissing with all those who had previously done so.

In spite of the importance of a protest of such authority, it was fated to receive the same treatment as those who had gone before.

This is an extract of their protest, signed by 48 members of the Royal Academy of Belgium and the Medical, Licentiate and Belles-Lettres Academies, and by 148 professors of the Universities of Brussels, Louvain and Liege :

"The undersigned, bowing to an imperious duty, unity in one bond of feeling to express to Your Excellency, the keen emotion that the measures adopted with a portion of the population is provoking in Belgian scientific circles : peaceable citizens, wrenched from their homes are deported to Germany where they are forced to labour, at least indirectly against their country.

A law project actually before the Reichstag, would decree enforced labour to all Germans men, ranging in age from 17 to 60 years. The exposal of the incentives to the creation of this law of auxiliary patriotic service, contains a statement that "to assure victory, it is indispensable to place the entire strength of the nation to the service of the country."

It cannot then be denied that the Belgian civilians submitted to the forced labour regime in Germany partake of the "Auxiliary Patriotic Service."

The measures resorted to at the present hour in occupied Belgium are therefore, in the estimation of the undersigned, not only contrary to the principles of Public Rights in Belgium, but also to the regulations of the Law of Nations has rendered tared.

In breaking up families and leaving them to misery, these measures run counter to the most formal moral exigencies.

In thus assimilating honest citizens with miscreants condemned to deportation and enforced labour, they do not conciliate the respect of human dignity, so nobly proclaimed by Kant, in formulating the following maxim : "Always treat your neighbor as an end, never as a means".

A protest having a great importance is the protest of the Association of Industrials of Belgium. The members of this Society are knowing perfectly the conditions of the economic life of the country. They prove, and this is irrefutable, that idleness was inevitable after the agissements of the German administration.

"The Belgian heads of industry would be shirking their duty if they did not protest with all their energy against an ever increasing number of families of the working class, and hasten the ruin of national production.

Your Excellence has often appropriated the flattery of having reestablished industry in this country. You have thus striven to fulfill the engagements consigned in a proclamation by which your accession to your present high functions were announced and confirmed the never-to-be-forgotten declarations of your predecessor.

Everything cooperated the happy effect of such language upon our co-citizens; they knew that, at The Hague, in the solemn sessions of civilized nations, the imperial government had sanctioned and often proposed resolutions destined to space the peaceful populations from the horrors of the war. *The Belgians who had fled upon the invasion were sollicited to*

return upon the proclamations comprising the most solemn promises of respect and security for themselves and their belongings.

These illusions were soon dispelled. Arrangements concluded in the head-quarters, allowed dealers *to enter our factories, as owners, and carry away all our installations. The requisition or rather the seizure of the raw material and of finished products followed closely.*

Even at that moment, Your Excellency received our protestations. They predicted for too precisely the deplorable consequences of these facts.

Several of the first among us conferred with Your Excellency upon this matter. You then calmed their anxiety, assuring them that these were exceptional cases and that a term would be put to such violence.

Shortly after, it became evident that authority above yours that of Your Excellence pursued other designs. It was not the re-establishment of business, but its death knell that was rung. Industry, commerce, agriculture were doomed to the same fate.

Continual seizure of machinery, raw material and products: limitation and exhaustion of indispensable provisions; obligations to revoke clauses and raise prices of contracts concluded, even before the war with foreign clients; the imposition of export taxes, unknown to us; prohibition of exportation; *injunctions to participate in the execution of labour manifestly destined to serve the German cause;* imprisonment; all this we have endured, for two years, a burden which has become well-nigh unbearable.

For a moment we hoped that industrial pursuits would be trusted to diplomatic control, as was the food problem, to prevent any abuse. However, this control was refused, and our hopes fill away.

How could all these establishments, now paralysed and starved, continue to employ their personnel ? Idleness was inevitable. Your Excellency knows of our personal efforts and those of private charity to warn off this idleness. It was not public assistance which furnished help to the families who could no longer feed so many unemployed members, but special organizations dispensing their services in this direction.

A few isolated examples has served as the basis of legal procedurings against those who had received their aid. Lists of those who were helped were transformed into tablets of disgrace.

When it is impossible to obtain work, why should idleness be a crime penalized by exile or servitude ?

Is not the labourer as well as any other man, master of his person and may be not his services to whom he will ?

In the recent strike of miners has not your administration itself ensasted upon the fact that none had the right to revert to force in matters of freedom of labour.

But, is it really a question of curbing idleness ? The bill-boards posted in many places in the territories of Etapes, by Military Authority, do not permit us to beleive or say it. They imply that the foremost interest is to supply labourers for German production; they draw the line between these who accept willingly and those who are taken from their homes; they threaten the latter with inhuman punishment if they refuse to help the cause of the ennemy by their labour.

And if there are some industries which seem to escape the recruiting, it is certain that the latter is exercised for the others without distinction of age, rank, families, and sometimes of even aptitudes.

Employed and unemployed are equally deported; there are even cases where we could cite unemployment which has been artificially provoked. The end of all labour will be the result in the near future, and the excuse for more deportations.

It will be required of Belgium, already so cruelly tried, where the receipts and use of the taxes are submitted to the authority of the occupant, who exacts the crushing monthly contribution of 40,000 frs. the additional burden of sustaining more than three-fourths of its inhabitants, reduced to the most fearful misery.

Nothing can explain and much less justify a treatment, the sight of which modern Europe neer hoped to witness.

The political mandates of the nation, the highest judicial authorities, have, as it is fit, raised their voices to establish the transgression of our treaties, both in spirit and in form, as well as unquestionable natural rights.

Our role is to show that all economical life in Belgium has become impossible, and that our country is on the verge of total r

Upon this fertile soil, where our industrious labourers had with such pride and valour contributed to common prosperity, will now be seen only desolate wastes; there where peaceful populations suffered with dignity and patience the foreign occupation, hatred and suffering will take firmer root.

We cannot doubt, that Your Excellency shares our doleful apprehensions, for there is not one word of promise which does not meet with its contradiction.

As for us, in deposing this protestation in your hands, in the name and favour of those men of whom we are proud to be the employees as for the defense of our enterprise, we will have complied with a dual duty which our convictions inspire and which our conscience approves.

May the awful responsibility for the calamities with which we are charged and which we endure be cast upon their rightful authors.

May Your Excellency accept the expression of those sentiments to which he is entitled.

A cablegram from The Hague of Nov. 24th, Mr. E. Van der Velde, Minister of Munitions and President of the International Socialist Association report his address to that body :

"I need not here expose lated day event in Belgium. He might have hoped that after the horrors of invasion and the miseries associated with German occupation our population had drunk the diegs of their cup of woe. But something more terrible was yet in reserve. The German Government, in spite of its promises and most solemn engagements seems to revive for the Belgians that treatment which fell to the lot of the conquisted in the days of Assyria and Babylon. Daily, The Hague contributes news which keeps our hearts in anguish. The deportations are increasing, and the conditions become more frightful.

In Flanders, at Charleroi and at Mons, in fact, over the greater part of the country, the ennemy is carrying away men of all ages and conditions, and especially our youth and our laboring men.

They are pursued, collected in the manner of cattle, and transported as prisoners in other provinces, in the north of France and to Germany, where, without even being allowed to communicate with their relatives or friends, they are forced, under pain of imprisonment, to construct strategic railroads, and fortifications and produce for the Germans, the cement necessary for their trenches, or other similary tasks either at the front or in ammunition factories. On the 17th of November, The Hague telegraphed that over 30,000 Belgians had already been deported. A poster, seen at Brussels, announced that the deportations of the men unhabiting the capital would begin the 18th of November. The Germans have been known to declare that they would deport 300,000 men from Belgium. Such facts are in opposition with international laws. They thereby violate the most solemn promises, and constitute an odious and unjustified imposture on the rights of a free people and on human dignity itself.

Article 23 of The Hague Convention of 1907, formally prohibits a belligerent nation to oblige the countrymen of an adversary to take part in operations against their country. In October, the Military Governor of Antwerp authorized the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines to declare to all Belgians who feared to return to their country, that the young men had nothing to apprehend; that they would not be sent to Germany or be enlisted or subject to enforced labour. Moreover, Marshal von der Goltz, followed by General von Bissing, took the same engagements. Nevertheless, despite indignant protest from all parts, the German military authorities have organized the enlistment of the civilian population who must to-day work against their country, to the ennemy's advantage.

In the presence of such a crime, it could well be expected that no neutral nation remain silent.

The Pope, immediately protested. Holland, Spain and the United States did like-wise.

If the "International" did not express themselves in this respect, their enemies might possibly believe them dead, such violations of the laws in warfare, are, if possible, ever more terrible than war itself."

After having said that the socialists might be at variance regarding the causes and designs of the war, they

should unite as one to denounce those violations of which the German Government is guilty. He adds :

"To give their conduct the shade of a justification, or an apparent excuse, the authors of the Decree enforcing labour, insist that they are taking the interest of their victims, with the view of suppressing idleness and inactivity, and relieve public and private charity of a burden; lies and hypocrisy !

All the men deported were not unemployed, and if there are actually 600,000 Belgians unemployed, if half the population finds it necessary to beg for assistance, it is because the Germans, after having invaded the country, ravaged it and laid it base of all its wealth ; because it has heaped upon it, requisitions, confiscations and fines because it has literally robbed it of its machinery, and raw material, and carried all away to Germany, because they have forbidden the municipal authorities of every city to employ civilians in public works. The majority of our workmen, and the honour of it will rest with them forever, prefered to undergo the misery and privations of imprisonment rather than weave by their labour, the shroud of their beloved country.

It is in their name, that I write to you, in the name of these companions whom you have learned to love, when they joined you at the fraternal conference you know, in the name of those labouring unions which you have so often succoured, at an hour when they less needed your help.

To-day, it is a question of saving the Belgian proletarian from the most shameful exploitation and the most degrading slavery, and it is for this reason that I appeal to you. I have the right to address each and every member of the "International" whether neutral or belligerent. All are socialists, and none can expose himself to the accusation of having refused his aid and support to a friend covered with wounds and perhaps dying, and thus completing his ruin."

The Belgian refugees in Great Britain sent the appeal as follows :

To His Holiness The Pope Benedict XV.

The Belgian refugees of England, whose signatures appear on this letter, prompted by the suffering as terrible as undeserved, of their unfortunate compatriots, remained in Belgium, dare to make a frank and pressing appeal to your sentiments of equity and humanity, to the desued effect of inducing the occupying Power of Belgium to cease the inhuman proceedings which we had beleived forever bannished from society — deportation in masses and slavery.

Trusting in that treaty which guaranteed their neutrality, the Belgians did not prepare for war.

Their Sovereigns had governed the country wisely, and eigthy-three years of peaceful prosperity had proved to all the signees of the fundamental treaty that Belgium held it own among civilized nations.

During the course of this long and flourishing period, Belgium never failed in its duties towards its Protecting Powers.

Even the Germans profited largely of our generous hospitality, they covered our markets with their products, they held the best positions in our schools, factories, manufactures, stores, offices, etc. They seemed everywhere, and everywhere they were welcomed. Who could have believed that these professors, agents, clerks, accountants, employees, etc., were nought but spies, ready to turn against us at the first signal ?

On August 4th, 1914, the German armies, (without provocation from any Power and History will establish it) violently tread upon our neutrality with the cry : "Not Kennt Kein gebot."

Innumerable armies, long prepared for the terrible invasion then set fire to our cities, destroyed our works of art, tortured and assassinated our women, aged men and children. The sufferings of our brothers and sisters have not ceased, but have steadily increased.

After the theft of raw material — minerals, flax, cotton, wool, iron, etc. — the Germans carried away the machinery and tools, all the metal, carrying their investigations even to our smallest workshops, forgetting nothing, not even the transmission belts.

And they go to the extreme of cynical irony by accusing the Belgians of being "lazy and parasites." Our live stock, our harvests, our resources of every kind, everything has been requisitioned and from our beautiful breed of horses there remains only a few foundered specimens.

It was to be expected after all this, that the German mind was powerless to invent any further artifice to spoliate our populations. Was it not enough for them to have paralyzed our commerce and industry ? to have done away with our freedom ? to have ruined public fortune ? and thus to have reduced a prosperous nation to famine and misery ?

And the pride of the people who suffered all this without rebellion was it not sufficient to inspire respect ? But, now, Germany who flaunts her "Kultur" far and wide, has perpetrated another crime, above all others in monstruosity : The slavery of all able-bodied men in Belgium.

Thousands of them belonging to all classes of society have already been transported to Germany, packed like cattle, and traveling without sufficient food or clothing. Others, and they too, by thousands, have been brutally snatched from their homes and, are forced to execute labour reserved for German soldiers, and prepare the ammunitions which will eventually kill their own children.

This barbarous measure is opposed to International Law; it is contrary to the spirit — and even to the text — of The Hague Conventions of 1907. It is in direct contradiction with the usage of war and the laws of humanity.

Were it possible for Your Holiness to assist at one of these heart-rending scenes of deportation we know you would echo the cry of the wretched Belgian women : "Back, German barbarians". These deportations by armed forces in the ennemy's territory would revolt Your respect of humanity and you would unite with these people in demanding reparation for the crime.

That which makes the crime worse is the fact that the German authorities had formally promised the Dutch and Belgian authorities that the able-bodied men would never be expatriated. Had not the German authorities declared that only idlers would be deported ? Had they not even declared to the neutrals that this measure was for the good of the Belgian workmen ? What sollicitude !

At this hour, neutral countries have set opinions about the north of Germany's promise. If our compatriots are not deported for a military purpose, why do not the Germans permit them to work in their own country ? Or to go to Holland, Switzerland or England ? Germany has not, moreover, to attend to the wants of the idlers : the National Committee for Relief has charge of that."

If certain countries have acquired the right to eternal gratitude for having, at the opportune moment, fed the starving population of Belgium, we will be equally grateful to those who will come to our rescue in our present trial.

May our appeal be headed by all free nations ! May it be imitated by ever man of honour and every good patriot !

The Belgian refugees in England, united in one idea of solidarity call upon Your Holiness to use your influence with the occupying powers in Belgium to prevent any further perpetration of such deeds as the European wars have never known, and they beg you to accept their most sincere gratitude and the assurance of their profound respect.

The Belgian labourers have sent the pressing appeal hereafter to the workmen of all nations (1) :

"In the name of the international solidarity of workingmen, the labouring class of Belgium, threatened with slavery, deportation and enforced labour at the profit of the enemy, address a supreme appeal for immediate and energetic assistance to the working class of the world. We do not ask for words of sympathy, but for deeds. Being human, we know you will understand.

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(1) This appeal is published in a pamphlet: *Appeal of the Belgian workmen to the workmen of all nations*, and was sent by the presidents of Representatives and Senate, with their protest, to the presidents of foreign parliaments, neutrals and allies.

Our situation is desperate. Germany, as you know, attacked and terrorized Belgium in 1914, because the latter defended its neutral rights, its sworn faith and its honour.

Since then, Germany has martyrized Belgium. She has made it a prison whose boundaries are as guarded as those of the battle fronts by trenches, barbed and electric wires and quick-firing guns.

All our constitutional liberties have been abolished. Security is no more, and the lives of our citizens are endangered in the hands of arbitrary police who know neither limit nor pity.

For nearly two years this infectious state of idleness has been maintained until the day in October, 1916, when Germany, short of labourers, bethought herself of the labouring forces of Belgium.

Yes! the Germans have created the state of idleness in Belgium, and have maintained it to their profit :

In refusing England, who consented to the exportation to Belgium of raw material, the diplomatic control to guard against seizure of same by Germany ;

In preventing the Belgian communes, various Associations and individuals, through the medium of terrorizing edicts, from contributing work to the unemployed, from organizing industrial schools of developing public utility service

Thus, 500,000 *labourers have been reduced to forced idleness and maintained therein.*

Contrary to the rumours which the Germans spread abroad, these unemployed are not dependent upon the municipal budgets nor upon public charity. They have been attended to in all dignity and fraternity, by a private organisation, exclusively Belgian, which complains not of its duties nor its mission. The solidarity of the Belgian social classes assures the life of this magnificent organization without precedent in the history of mutual relief societies.

To these 500,000 unemployed labourers, the German authorities hold the following.

Either you will sign a contract binding you to labour for Germany or you will be reduced to slavery.

In either case, it is exile, deportation, forced lal[illegible]to the ennemy's profit, to the interests of this ennemy, and against our [illegible]try; formidable punishments, the most cruel that tyranny has ever invented as penalty for crimes, and these as such, which were they ? *Involuntary idleness which despotism has created and maintained.*

And, in spite of the most odious urging, the Germans do not succeed in obtaining the signatures which they dare to call *voluntary* in their official communications to neutral countries. They take our men by force, your brethren as well as ours; they are held up daily by the thousand; they are torn away from their homes, their wives and families; at the point of the bayonnet they are conducted to cattle-trucks where they are transported to France or Germany;

On the Western frontiers, they are brutally forced to dig trenches, to prepare military aviation camps, to build strategic railroads, to fortify German holdings. And when these victims persist in refusing to accomplish such labour forbidden by International Law, the Germans starve and illtreat them, beat them, till they sicken often they are wounded and sometimes killed.

In Germany, they are thrown into mines, quarries and lime-kilns, regardless of age, profession or trade. Young men of 17 are thrown along with men of 60 and over. Is not this the slavery of antiquity with all its horrors ?

50,000 *workmen employed and unemployed*, have already been transported, as convicts or slaves. Each day, a new district is raided; it it accompanied by warring apparatus of quick-firing guns, numberless soldiers as for an attack, and the dismal military operation against these poor, disarmed people may terrorize them, but leave then always conscious of their violated rights.

Do not forget that the soldiers who are the tormentors of our Belgian workmen are German workmen. And 500,000, perhaps, 800,000 men will be deported if you do not bar the way.

After the men will follow the women, no doubt.

Another 500,000 !...

It is the entire Belgian working-class which is threatened with slavery, with decay, and death.

Do you know, Brethren, what the Germans thrust upon our men as "salary" ?

Thirty pfennigs per workingday. (Six cents).

And the food !... The Belgian civilian prisoners who return from Germany after three months detention, have lost the third of their weight. They are unrecognizable, anemic, invalid; many can never recover their health, and cling to life but a short time. If this is the fate of prisoners who do nothing, how awful the fate reserved to the deported Belgians who are forced to the hardest labour !

We did our utmost to escape this burden of slavery.

Our every effort was in vain. Germany, whose need for labour is extremely pressing, has not consented to put off the application of her edicts one day, even one hour. Her answer was more soldiers and more guns. *Now, the Belgian working-classes look towards the Neutral Powers for aid.*

Before this crime of lèse-humanity, the hope is felt that Neutral Powers will be inspired the energy to act. Would not silence make them participants to this abominable deed ?

The Belgian labouring-class in anguish, wonders whether they will once more as Pontius-Pilate, under pretext that the German calumnies did not coincide of their victims.

Belgium, martyrs of Right, does not want any verbal assurances or platonic sympathy. Belgium want acts. Will the Neutrals and their governing factions let do and ignore ? Will they let civilization rush backward to barbaric ages when the vainquished were carried away into slavery with the victor ? Will they allow the working-class of a civilized nation to be crushed out of existence ?

If others act thus, if the world must once more witness such cowardice, we beg you at least to be our friends, our saviours.

We do not doubt your sincerity, our cause is yours.

It seems that if we did not denounce the outrage which threatens us you would condemn us for it some day saying : "You had not the right to keep silent and suffer your wrongs in silence ; you are the depositories for your portion of the honour of working-class conditions. If the people of a civilized nation are reduced to servitude, all working-classes are affected. It is a terrible precedent. We, workmen of Belgium, we would not have tolerated such an injustice. The present day labourer has evolued from slavery; it cannot return to its former conditions."

It seems we hear these words bidding us hope. You are numerous, powerful and energetic !

You alone can prevent the entire working-class of a civilized country from falling into slavery.

From the depths of our distress, we count upon your assistance.

Now is the time to act.

As for us, even though force will succeed in reducing our bodies to a state of servility, for the time being, our spirit will never be curbed.

We add one word :

"Whatever our tortures, we do not wish for peace but in the triumph of justice and the independance of our Country".

THE BELGIAN LABOURERS IN BELGIUM.

The following desperate address is to the American people by Belgians citizens, resident in United States :

"Belgium is once more crucified, after untold sufferings during the most barbarous inhuman war that ever was fought, after famine and want, comes the slavery of every able-bodied them have already been huddlel off to Germany like cattle, in merchant trucks, without food nor sufficient clothing. To-morrow there will be 300,000 forced to manufacture, whether directly or indirectly, arms and ammunitions to be used against their own sons, brothers or friends. Moreover, and at the same time, they will be treated as civilian prisoners of Louvain, Andenne, Dinant, etc., that is, worse than any slave was ever treated in countries where slavery was formerly practiced.

Can the world possibly remain silent, and can the United States particularly maintain a benevolent neutrality when one of the most sacred rights of man is thus openly violated, the right of every man to freedom ?

Spain, through its Ambassador at Berlin, has energetically protested ; other neutral countries have already expressed their sentiments and their anxiety; even the German papers of this country, and the Hungarian journals abroad regret these wretched proceedings. In the name of humanity, shall we not hear a cry of revolt from the shores of that country wh has bled for right and liberty ; where thousands of her best citizens g..e up their lives on the battle-fields for the liberation of slaves ;

America has already fed starving Belgium but, aside from this material aid, we would beg the citizens of this country to lend us moral support. We present a fervent appeal to the most generous convictions and highest ideal of the American people.

The world is akin, morally, and every attempt to deprive a man of his freedom is reflected on humanity in general. That is not then the harm inflicted upon these thousands of men, and indirectly to more than a million women and children ?

The hour is a solemn one ! The most powerful Republic of the world will surely be moved by the most audacious crimes ever perpetrated.

May the clamour of millions be heard beyond the mountains, the plains and across the oceans, as the clamour of humanity to strengthen the leaders who ever should act as the medium of universal public opinion. In this occurence, we count upon the American people."

From Holland came the plea of thousands of Belgian refugees, addressed to Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmine. It reads :

The Belgians whose signatures appear below, having taken refuge in this land of Holland, respectfully beg your Majesty, to grant her attention to the injust as well as atrocious sufferings which now afflict their unfortunate brethren of occupied Belgium.

Thousands of men have been torn away from their homes, from their parents, their wives, their children of whom they were the sole support; amidst these cries of despair, tears and pleadings, are deported to Germany and the authority now in power proclaims its intention of enforcing labour upon these innocent and free citizens. These measures affecting the civilian population of the occupied country, constitute serious infringement upon the most elementary principles of humanity, of civilization and the law of nations. Such an act is a flagrant disavowal of formal engagements with the Dutch authorities, with Belgian civil and religious authorities taken by the German now occupying Belgium, engagements by which were guaranteed security and liberty to refugees returning to their country.

All Belgians have kept the deepest gratitude at the remembrance of the kindness with which Your Gracious Majesty has given shelter to exiled Belgian subjects, refusing to abandon them to their fate without first having obtained from Germany the assurance in the clearest terms that they would be well treated.

It is with the memory of this instance, upon the authorisation which such evidence sollicitude and kinship, that we now have recourse to the high intervention of Her, who represents to us a nation whose past reflect's the highest traditions of right and human liberty."

The protestations and appeals of Belgium have arisen from all quarters. And there are many others such as those of the Representatives and Senators of Mons, Representatives and Senators of Antwerp, Provincial Councils, Trade Unions, etc, all eloquent, and which we wish to ·· blish ! (1)

Abroad, the belgian public administrat·· ·s and the belgian citizens have called attention to the conduct of the

(1) The newspaper " Pro Belgica " has published a large number of documents and articles relating to the subject of deportation. Every number, since November, contains informations on this subject.

German Government. In occupied Belgium, civil and religious authorities have maintained most courageous attitude, considering the arrogant haughtiness of the provisional masters of the country.

All these documents agree, complete one another, and reiterate the same facts. But this repitition is the evidence of their veracity, as they sprang from different parts, and assert the same facts. History will claim them and they will constitute the most formidable accusation which any race will have had to face !

The German administration has the most pitiful of attitudes ! It is true that any other is out of question ! The deportations have not been denied. They were explained. But explained in Teuton fashion ! The deportations were measures necessary to public order and security ; in the interest of the deportees who are unemployed ; furthermore, the conditions are no longer the same as in 1914, when the promises were made, etc.

The Belgian authorities have retorted. Cardinal Mercier, the City of Brussels, the Parliamentarians of Brussels and others, have met the allegations of the Germans and signaled exact happenings, mentioned further on which attest the duplicity of the German administration ! (1)

It is true that it might have answered as General Hoptfer to the City of Tournai :

" THE SITUATION IS VERY SIMPLE : MILITARY AUTHORITY COMMANDS AND THE CITY OBEYS."

III.—THE ALLIES' PROTESTS.

Public opinion abroad is roused by this new infringement of International Law. — British Government protests in the name of the Allies. — A protest in the name of the House of Commons of London — The House of Lords protests. — Mr. Deschanel protests for the French Parliament. — Mr. A. Dubost protests for the French Senate. — Mr. Marcora protests for the Italian House of Representatives. — Vote of protest from the Italian Parliament. — The Canadian Premier protest in the House of Commons. — Letter of the president of the Canadian Senate. — A letter to neutral governments from the anti-slavery society. — The "Internationale" replies to Mr. Van der Velde. — Letter to the French Socialist Party. — Reply of the Leader of the English Trade Unions. — Cable from the Australian Premier. — The Russian Laborers sympathize. — Proclamation of the "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme". — Protest of the women of France. — The Portugese Women's Crusade. —Protestation of the Trade and Labor Council of Montreal. — Meetings of protestation in France, England, Italy.

This last crime against the International Law, the civilization and the liberty of nations, should revolt the Allies, who are now struggling for civilization, for the liberty of nations, *including the liberty of German nation.*

(1) The correspondence interchanged was transmitted to the representatives of the Neutral Nations in Brussels, who being on the scene, were in a measure to verify every assertion.

The British Government, in a declaration approved by the French, Russian and Italian Governments, has associated the Allied Powers to the note of protest against the slave-hunters in Belgium.

This appeal of the allies to the civilized world presents a great interest :

The Belgian Government has solemnly protested, before the civilized world, against the slave raids, organized by the German authorities in Belgium.

The Allies of Belgium join in this protest, and recognizing the debt contracted with her, word their sentiments collectively, as follows :

Upon the sudden invasion of Belgium, prepared long beforehand by the Central Powers and successful for the time being, the Allies recognized it an imperative duty to provide for the population whose territory was thus over-run.

Accordingly, when the Belgian Government organized relief work and confided it to a neutral Committee, the Allies promised to back it.

No sooner were the financial resources of Belgium exhausted than the Allies secured the funds for the continuation of this Committee.

They furnished the necessary ships and all other facilities. Moreover, they did all in their power to protect Belgian industry from the disastrous results of the invasion, through the medium of the neutral commission.

They facilitated exportation to neutral countries, and the expedition of funds to Belgium, for the payment of salaries and maintenance of the factories. At various times, they submitted offers to Germany which would have favored Belgian industry and commerce under the control of the Neutral Commission, and would have authorized the importation of raw material to Belgium. But these offers remained unanswered.

The Allies recall this, not as a boast but as evidence of their constant policy. They strained every effort to protect Belgium, as far as possible, from the evil effects of the war, and would not have sought their advantages thereby, for upon consent of the Belgian authorities, they had turned over the execution of this policy to an exclusively neutral commission, which has concentrated its efforts exclusively upon the Belgian population.

The Allies have only stipulated the Germans, on their side, were not to benefit by the operations of this Committee; that they could not seize the imported or native products; and that the distribution of material help would not be utilized to force the Belgians to work against their conscience.

These conditions, which the Germans had sworn to respect were frequently ignored in the past : Belgian cattle were brought to victual the armies at the front, Belgian soldiers were forced to labour, confiscations and requisitions of food have been practiced everywhere in the occupied territory.

The Germans have also seized the raw material, the machinery and other essentials to the maintenance of national industry; they have therefore deliberately created the present state of idleness and misery.

But these infractions to the German guarantees have been, in the past, disavowed, in various cases, by the German government, and the Allies left to the Commission, the care of imposing the necessary respect of the conditions upon which it would continue to operate.

The situation has now changed. The Germans have put aside every semblance of respect of individual liberty in Belgium.

They have deliberated ordered the suspension of operations of this Neutral Committee, and, mindless of previous engagements openly sought to create a state of idleness by the stoppage of work which would serve as a pretext for deportation.

They themselves have become the organizers and authors of the manhunts which, at the time of the Brussels Convention in 1890, they had solemnly vowed to suppress in Africa. They have also destroyed the Belgian work-houses, and the exportation of staples to Belgium has begun on a large scale.

That is why the Allies find it necessary to acquaint the world with what is about to happen. As their situation becomes worse, the Central Powers seek to abolish all the guarantees which form the basis of the operations of the Commission. They want to disown all their promises, and em-

ploy Belgian products and labour to revive their failing strength. The relief work which the neutrals have taken two years to organize, is now trembling on its foundations and threatened with destruction.

Allies mean to cling to their policy or abandon the oppressed popula... of Belgium, at this critical moment of the war. As it will be impossible for the Commission to pursue its work if the fundamental guarantees are disregarded, the Allies appeal to all the civilized world, not in their favour, but behalf of innocent civilians who cannot protect themselves, that this magnificent work of philanthropy and international cooperation, which has sprung and florished during the war and to which the Allies have granted be not overthrown disrupted by treason or destroyed by violence.

They also wish to remind the world that this policy on the part of Germany is extended to the North of France and all other occupied territory.

No more in the future than in the past will the Allies seek any advantages through the operations of the Neutral Commission for Relief in Belgium.

Earl Grey had written to the Belgian Ambassador in London, assuring the Belgian Government that the British Government would adopt any measure of a nature (1) that would put a stop to Belgian deportations to Germany.

There had already been question of this at the House of Commons, whose leader had sent a letter of protestation to the leader of the Belgian House of Representatives.

The exiled " Independance Belge " editing in London, publishes the following on this subject :

Mr. Thorne has asked the under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, if he knew that 25,000 Belgians had been deported from various parts of Belgium, to work in the Rhenish and Westphalian Provinces, if he knew that these districts were the coal and metallurgical industry centers of Germany, if he knew that after the fall of Antwerp the German Military Governor, had given Cardinal Mercier formal assurance in writing that the Belgians would not be deported; if he knew that this assurance had been confirmed by General von der Goltz, and if he had the intention of adopting an attitude in this matter.

Lord Robert Cecil answers that he had every reason to believe that the fact alluded to were exact. He promised to second whatever motion was made on the part of the Belgian authorities, in addressing the neutrals with regard to this situation but he did not disguise the fact, that, in his opinion, the most important thing was to pursue the war unrelentlessly, with the greatest energy possible, in order to hasten the freedom of Belgian soil (1).

Here is the letter sent by the presidents of the House of Commons and the House of Lords to the presidents to the House of Representatives and Senate of Belgium :

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of December 7th, addressed me in the name of the Belgian Senate, and to thank you for the inclosure of the copy of the appeal of Belgian labourers to their brethren of other nations.

The brutal and cynical treatment of the Belgian workingmen by German authorities and their attendants has stirred the whole civilized world to indignity, particularly the working classes of our country, who thus for have made; and who will continue to make the cause of the Belgian their own.

(S.) JAMES LOWTHER.

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(1) In fact, the one and only objective just now should be to make victory certain for the Allies. And bringing the attention of the neutrals to bear on each infraction of the Law of Nations, with a view of taking measures to have them cease, is a step towards victory, when these infractions send to strengthen the German army.

"I have the honour to inform you that, as Lord Chancellor, I have received the letter dated the 7th of December last, signed by yourself and the President of the House of Representatives and addressed to the President of the House of Lords.

It is with profound emotion and sympathy that I read your letter and the document of the appeal of the Belgian workingmen to their comrades of other countries of the civilized world.

The treatment which Germany now inflicts upon Belgium comprises all the crimes to be committed by one nation against another. The deportations, in masses, of the Belgian population, brought away to work as slaves under German oppressors, constitute the supreme infamy which has been viewed with indignation in every country, where liberty and civilization rule.

As you know, the Allied Governments are straining every effort to assure reparation to Belgium by force of arms, and denounce before justice those who have rendered themselves guilty of such outrages against civilization and humanity.

I hope and firmly believe the appeal, coming as it does from the Belgian labourers, will elicit a sympathetic and effectual response from the nations of the globe.

Mr. Deschanel, President of French Parliament, answered MM. Schollaert and Goblet d'Alviella in a letter from which we quote :

"I have the honour to thank you for the sad message which has moved us deeply.

All my colleagues unite with me in sentiment, and assure you that the French Parliament indignantly and utterly condemns the odious acts which you denounce to the civilized world. We are determined to fight until reiteration of such infractions of National Law are absolutely impossible."

The president of the French Senate, Mr. A. Dubost sent the following letter to the president of the Belgian Senate :

You have forwarded me, in the name of the Belgian Senate which cannot meet at present, your appeal worded in Belgium by the delegates of the Labouring Unions.

I have the honour to thank you for this touching communication which has aroused our profound sympathy.

I voice the sentiments of the Upper House in assuring you that the French Senate sadly deplores with great indignation, the violence which you attest and which has inspired the civilized world with horror.

We express the hopes that the rights of humanity and national sovereignty may soon be restored to your generous and heroic Belgium.

I have the honour to assure you, Mr. President, of my highest consideration.

In Italy, Mr. Marcova, president of the House sent this message to Mr. Schollaert, president of the Belgian House, in which he interpreted the sentiments of the deputation. He expressed indignation at the deportation of Belgians in Germany :

"The cry of anguish of the Belgian workmen touches our hearts and appeals to us as one of the saddest and most agonizing instances of the war.

On the 9th of December, the Italian Parliament had already carried unanimously an order of the day, proposed by Senator Bertesi, deploring this additional violence perpetrated against Belgium, and expressing the hope that victory would revenge in Europe, the rights of humanity.

In expressing our participation to the unanimous protest of humanity to you, as the illustrious representatives of a martyred nation, we offer to your people, in the name of ours, the affectionate regard and ardent wish which appreciate the extensive horror and splendor of Belgium's sacrifice.

On the 9th of December, upon proposition of deputy Berlesi, the Italian Parliament voted an order of the day condemning German barbarity as exercised over Belgium.

Speaking from the war at the Canadian House of Commons, the prime minister, Sir Robert Borden said :

"The renewal, in an intense form, of the submarine campaign, with all the barbarous methods which accompany it can only serve to steel our resolve. More than that, the sufferings and barbarities that have been inflicted on some of the smaller nations should serve to strengthen that determination. I am voicing an opinion in which I am sure my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) (1) will concur, when I say that the barbarities inflicted on the heroic Belgian people, in leading then into practical slavery by thousands, by tens of thousands, and even by hundreds of thousands, have shocked the conscience not only of the Allied nations but of the whole civilized world. It is fitting that we should at this moment and in this, if not in some more formal manner, raise our protest against such outrages and barbarities, which in the end can serve no good purpose even for the enemy nations, as they will but serve to strengthen the determination of the British people and of all the Allied nations. (2)

The Speaker of the Canadian Senate addressed the President of the Belgian Senate a message of which the following is an extract :

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(1) Sir Wilfrid Laurier reply: "I share the sentiments expressed by my right hon. friend."

(2) Thousands of signatures covered a petition of protestation in this terms :

CANADIAN PROTEST AGAINST THE DEPORTATIONS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF BELGIUM.

THE UNDERSIGNED HAVING UNDERSTOOD :

THAT able-bodied men of Belgium have been deported to Germany with cruelty without precedent,

THAT these facts have been known in their entirety to the German authorities,

THAT the German authorities have explained the reason for which said deportations were carried out by stating that the Belgian population were without employment, although these same authorities had first paralized the economic life of Belgium by removing the raw material for manufacturing, the machinery and the discontinuance of public works as well as excessive taxes on the unfortunate population.

THAT among those deported there are not only those forcibly taken from their work but also professional men such as priests, notaries, professors and also students and boys attending college,

THAT those so deported, like white slaves, are compelled to do forced labor, directly or indirectly contributing to the aid of the enemy of their country, and upon their refusal to so act, are beaten and deprived of nourishment,

PROTEST ENERGETICALLY AGAINST THESE FORCED ABUSES, *contrary to the Natural Law, to the International Law and to International Conventions, thus constituting a grave menace to civilization and human dignity,*

EXPRESS THE HOPE OF SEING ALL NEUTRALS ACT IN CONCERT to put an end to these impositions which dishonor all humanity and violate all treaties to which they are parties.

"I have read and communicated to my colleagues the touching appeal of the workingmen of Belgium to their brethren of other countries.

The deportation in masses of the Belgian people, by unavowable methods, forcing them to work as slaves, constitutes a crime without precedent, which history will consign as an indelible stigma upon the name of the country guilty of the act. Canada feel the most profound admiration for Belgium, and in this deplorable circumstance, begs it to accept the most heartfelt and sincere sympathies of the Canadian race.

I hope that this appeal will be heard by all civilized peoples awakening in them righteous indignation which will tend to alleviate the hardships of the present situation.

Kindly convey our sympathies to the President of the Belgian House of Representatives."

The Anti-Slavery Society has sent this letter to the Representatives of Neutral Governments (1):

"The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society came into existence in order to secure complete abolition of every form of slave-trading and slavery. Throughout its history the Society has pursued this task with the help of all political parties in Great Britain and of sympathisers in other countries.

The committee of the Society has watched with deep and growing concern the measures which have recently been taken by the German authorities in Belgium and the northern towns of France in seizing and forcibly deporting from their homes large numbers of the civilian population, both men and women, to Germany for industrial purposes. The Belgian Government, in protesting against this action, declared it to be a mockery of the laws of humanity as well as of the conventional rules of war relative to the power of a belligerent in the occupation of a country. After careful consideration, the committee is convinced that these acts in Belgium constitute a clear violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of solemn international treaty obligations in regard to slave owning and slave-trading.

The European Powers have repeatedly pledged themselves to action to put down the slave trade and "the evils of every kind which attend it." As long ago as 1815 the Powers assembled at the Congress of Vienna (including Austria and Prussia) acknowledged the slave trade to be repugnant to the principles of humanity and universal morality, and asserted the duty and necessity of abolishing it as "a scourge" which had "long desolated Africa, degraded Europe and afflicted humanity." Again, at the Conference at Verona in 1822, the representatives of the Powers announced their intention of preventing "a traffic which the laws of almost every civilised country have already declared to be culpable and illegal, and of punishing with severity those who persist in carrying it on in manifest violation of these laws." In 1885, when acts of slave traffic had become restricted mainly to the coloured inhabitants of tropical and sub-tropical regions, the General Act of Berlin was signed. The signatories, including the Neutral Powers of Europe, in addition to the Entente and Central Powers (the United States were also party but did not, we believe, ratify the Act), declared their intention to put an end to the slave trade in the part of Africa covered by the Act. All the Powers, belligerent and neutral, were signatory to the General Act of Brussels, of 1890, the avowed object of which was to put an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in slaves. The Powers have thus repeatedly asserted their abhorrence of traffic in slaves and their intention to abolish slavery, and it has been their legitimate boast that they have united in taking measures to this end.

The German Government, we understand, defends its acts on the ground that the deportations are in the interests of the people deported. Your Excellency's Government will be familiar with the fact that every system of slave holding in history has been defended upon this plea. The only reason which could be advanced with any shadow of validity would have been that of administrative corvée, but we have nowhere seen even this plea of justification. The Society has for years pointed out the abuses which

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(1) Published in a pamphlet : *Slavery in Europe.*

are inseparable from forced labour, even under safeguards, but it has been prepared to admit justification for administrative corvée under certain conditions clearly defined by all the civilised Governments and under the exceptional circumstances of an "act of God." Your Excellency's Government is doubtless aware that administrative corvée operates within the following limitations :—

(*a*) The labourers must be employed within their own country upon works of public utility to the community, whilst it must be demonstrable that the whole community affected will suffer more from the omission than from the adoption of such measures.
(*b*) The labour in which the units are engaged must permit of the maintenance of the domestic life of the labourer.
(*c*) Under no circumstances may such forced labour be employed upon industrial work of a profit producing nature.
(*d*) That such labour can only be exacted in lieu of taxation and then only under definite administrative ordinance.

Examples of justifiable forced labour may be found in connection with some "act of God," as in the calling out of the population of Holland to maintain the dykes, or that of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley to prevent the river overflowing its banks. We cannot think that even the German Government would argue that the invasion and destruction of Belgium come within the definition of "an act of God." The abuse in this case is even more flagrant when labour is demanded not only not for the benefit of the community to which the labourers belong, but wholly against its interests and for the sole advantage of an enemy country. Indeed, the utter divergence of these German acts from any likeness to "administrative corvée" is revealed by the fact that the Germans have actually stopped the employment of Belgian labour by the provincial relief bodies—notably in Luxembourg—on works of real public utility.

The Society therefore utters a strenuous protest against such acts of wholesale slavery as grossly opposed to the professions of the Powers expressed in international treaty instruments, and calls upon the Neutral Powers to intervene and to use every available diplomatic means to call Germany to account for such action and secure the restoration of the unfortunate people so enslaved to their homes.

This appeal has been addressed to the following Governments:—The United States of America, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Sweden.

We include the Internationale's answer to Mr. Van der Velde here, although it is not in reality a protest. This answer even seems to have suffered German influence and could have been more strong by worded considering on one hand the friendliness of the Internationale so often proclaimed and on the other, the sufferings of the Belgians and the offense to human dignity.

Dear Citizen :

"It is with the greatest sympathy and concern that the executive Committee and branches of the "International" learnt of the appeal which you have issued relative to the Belgian deportations to Germany.

We had felt the same sympathy and concern at the cry of distress of the Belgian workingmen of every creed and political party, calling to their aid the workmen of all nations.

We rally without reserve to their cry, and to yours, for deportation, commanded by the German authorities, is a brutal violation of the most elementary principals of humanity and international law.

We absolutely reject the ambiguous reasons by which the German Government seeks to justify these deportations and the labour enforced upon Belgians at the profit of the invader.

We have also been informed of the declarations made by the military Governor of Antwerp, Mr. von Huene, who, in October 1914, took formal

engagement not to send young Belgian to Germany nor enlist them in the army, nor enforce labour upon them.

Besides, we know that, on the strength of such promises and declarations on the part of the German Governor-General in Belgium, the Belgian and Dutch Governments favored the return of thousands of emigrants to their country. Therefore, our Committee protests unanimously and with indignation, against this violation of right, which is also the breach of a promise.

We have taken the necessary measures to give wide publicity to your protestation and that of the Belgian workmen, and we have insisted that all sections of the "International" take immediate action to the effect of suppressing the deportations.

It is therefore with real satisfaction that we announce that the German social-democracy to a member has formulated an energetic protestation against the deportations even before having been communicated your appeal and that of the Belgian workmen.

At the Reichstag meetings on the 30th of November, and 2nd of December, at the discussion of the project of law regarding the compulsory service of civilians, the socialist deputies took the opportunity to raise their voices against the deportations in favour of the Belgian labourers. They were the citizens Yogsherr, Haase and Dittmann of the minority faction, and citizen Bauer rallied to this protestation in the name of the majority faction. The latter added that his faction has already, through a commission and directly, negociated with the government to obtain an improvement of the situation for the Belgian workmen, and that the German syndicates have worked incessantly in this direction.

Immediately after this law was voted in answer to your appeal, and together with the Austrian socialists, two delegates of the German social-democrate Party, — which is and remains partisan of the reestablishment of an independent Belgium — the citizens Scheidemann and Ebert went to The Hague to confer with our Committee upon the situation of the Belgian workmen.

They declared that even before examination of this question in public session, the citizen named Legien had discussed it lengthily with the Budget Commission (1); that they had protested against the enforcement of labour

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(1) The questions hereaiter were sent by the secretary of the central Association of the Metallurgic workers of Antwerp to Mr. Legien, secretary of the syndical commission of Germany, before the wholesale deportations which the Germans are presently engaged in. The questions cannot be charged with lacking of precision :

"Germany, says the Belgian secretary, has stopped Belgium's economic life and has put of work eight hundred thousand and workingmen. *What do you think of that?*

"Germany takes the machinery out of the Belgian factories, and so the workers are without work. In the province of Liege alone, five thousand machines have been carried away. *What do you think of it?*

"Germany systematically prevents the bringing in of provisions and of foodstuffs, thus condemns the workmen to starvation and requisitions the potatoes in the villages. *What do you think of that?*

"By a single stroke, Germany prohibits the establishment of professional courses for the unemployed and publishes, in the provinces of Liege and Hainaut, an ordinance by the terms of which anyone giving such an authorization shall be liable to the most severe penalties. *What do you think of that?*

"Germany has tried to compel the workingmen, by putting them in jail, by starving them, by inflicting them bodily harm, to employ temselves to military works for Germany's benefit. *What do you think of that?*

"At Lessines sixty of our workmen have been thrown into a prison because they would not accept to work at the trenches. *What do you think of that?*

"Our workingmen were ask to make barbed-wires. They refused to do so and were struck down with butt-ends and put it in jail. *What do you think of that?*

"IN GHENT, TWO THOUSAND WORKINGMEN HAVE BEEN THREATENED OF BEING SENT TO GERMANY TO MANUFACTURE AMMUNITIONS, IN AN ACTUAL STATE OF SLAVERY. *What do you think of that?*

upon the Belgians, basing his arguments not alone upon right and humanity, by also upon motives of a practical order, through personal knowledge of the Belgian labourers. As for us we have informed the German delegates of the tragic situation of Belgium, notably upon the guilty responsibility of the German authorities regarding idleness, and they expressed the firm intention of proceeding by serious inquest and, moreover, to do all in their power to prevent coercion. It results from these facts that you were happily inspired to appeal to all the members of the "International" to the neutrals, the belligerents, those who fight with us, and even, to those who fight against us. For, after all, and above all, they too are socialists!"

At this conference with the two representatives of the German social-democracy, we proceeded to an exchange of views upon various instances of coercion, injustice and inhumanity, cases of a character less revolting to the general conscience than the Belgian deportations, but which are none the less unfortunate.

To put a check to these deportations, it is important that the socialist Party and its political representatives take immediate action.

We allude to the deportation of prisoners outside of Europe, to the bad treatment of war prisoners, to the annoying means taken to neglect or suppress the correspondence of the prisoners and soldiers with their families, which increases the sad conditions of things unnecessarily — to the deportation of the civilian population by belligerents, — to the internment of strangers belonging to hostile powers, to the reprisals to which prisoners and interned are victim when they should, on the contrary, be alle to count upon sentiment of benevolence on either side.

These are as many facts which, though the consequences of the actual war, are not essential factors of warfare. They justify energetic action, and render it all the more necessary, either with respect to individual cases or general situations. During the course of this examination utterance was given to the idea that, to salve these various problems, it would be necessary to consolidate the collaboration of the different branches of the International, to which you have had the happy idea of appealing on behalf of the Belgian labourers. If each of parties of the principal belligerent nations named a delagate to the Hague, as member of a Commission working under the direction of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist, we would then have a Central Bureau, who would supply the socialist representatives of the various parliaments with the necessary documents to obtain from their respective governments the suppression of countless occasions of abuse.

The above mentioned idea was greeted by the delegates of the German section of the International, and we recommend it in turn to your kind consideration. We hope that you will consent to collaborate to its realisation, and that you will use all your influence with the socialist parties of France and Great Britain, who should take place upon this Committee, as well as the socialist parties of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia. The question of extending the Committee will necessarily appear later, but now, there is not a moment to lose.

We wish to state clearly and emphatically, that this Commission will not have a political character. Political matters rest with the International Socialist Bureau, of which the parties of France and Great Britain have not yet acknowledged convocation. It is merely a question of creating a veritable Relief Committee, having for exclusive motive the lessening and prevention of the hardships of war which strike first and most heavily the working classes. As the war goes on, the belligerents increased its grimness and this sole consideration already justifies the intervention of an organisation of the nature we propose.

The International would be forgetting all its duties, did it not do all in its power to prevent useless cruelty, although respecting the view-point of the different sections, till all concur on the same subject.

If the idea which we recommend were substantiated, the deportation of our Belgian comrades, who have already been so inhumanly treated, but who nevertheless struggle on for their independance would have brought into existence an organisation of international importance to the benefit of the working class of all the belligerent nations.

For the Executive Committee,

P. J. TROELSTRA, H. H. VAN KOL, J. F. ALBARDA,

The Secretary: CAMILLE HUYSMANS.

Mr. Emile Van der Velde, Belgian Minister, has received the following letters in answer to his appeal, in behalf of the Belgian workmen addressed to their brethren of the civilized world :

The executive committee of the French socialist party has answered :

"Friend, to the Socialists of the world, to the Members of that International of which you were chosen as Leader, your appeal is one of despair.

We have heard your cry. It is that of a people whose only guilt is the magnificent pride.

It is the protest of the conscience of humanity itself. We have heard it friend. We are with you, now, heart to heart. Could we be otherwise ? Could we forget that it was the Belgian proletariate, for whom you appeal in anguish, who built the noble "Maison du Peuple de Bruxelles," the home of our "Internationale pacifique" where our Jaurès spoke for the last time ?

In uniting with yours, our protest against the system of deportations which decimates your Belgian populations, as it does, also that our own invaded territory, in giving you our oath, Van der Velde, that France will fight till martyred Belgium has been restored to its former pride and independance, we are convinced that we betray neither the thought nor desire of the socialist soldiers now fighting with their compatriots of France.

In this wise, the chief of Trades Unions, telegraphed to assure the Belgians of the sympathy of all the English workingmen, and promised their help in the affair of the Belgian deportations.

The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Hugues, called the following answer :

"You may rely upon the certainty that your manifest will receive widespread publicity in Australia. We cast lots with the other civilized nations in one indignant protest against this last outrage against international law. Fraternal salutations."

Mr. Gregoire Alexinsky, member of the Douma, from the labour representative party replies to the appeal :

"Inasmuch as I know the generous mind of the Russian labouring classes, I can assure you that your pathetic appeal will not leave them unmoved to the sufferings of their Belgian brethren.

From the depths of the mine-pits and from behind the factory walls, all the Russian workmen unite in a cry of solidarity.

You may be convinced that the Russian working class is shedding its own blood, not alone for the future of its country, but also for the freedom of Belgium.

The "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme", (1) IX section of the Paris branch, has voted this excellent order of the day, which every Belgian will applaud.

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(1) The "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme", of France, held a manifestation in the Trocadéro, on the 7th of January. The object of the reunion was to protest against the odious and uninterrupted deportations of Frenchmen and Belgians to Germany. The discourse of MM. Van der Velde, Maeterlinck, Buisson, etc., pronounced in this meeting, and a letter of L. Bourgeois are published in a pamphlet.

"Considering, that despite the cruel and abnormal conditions to which warring nations are subjected, there still subsits betwixt them certain rules, codified as "Law of Nations" and which all belligerents are held to respect.

Considering, notably, that it is an acknowledged principle, that war being an inter-State relationship, the declaration of war, and the invasion of territories should remain without effect upon individuals, non-combattant, whose property as well as person has right to absolute respect ;

Considering that since the outset of hostilities, the German indulge in violating and ignoring in all circumstances the Law of Natons ;

Considering that, under pretext of shortening the war, they have dogmatized the terror system, and have organized the sack, incendiarism and murder on a military basis :

Considering that, pushing their system a step further, they have innovated a method of torture, the deportation, "en masse" of a large part of the population of the invaded country, and, for greater cruelty, separate the members of a family, snatching children from their mothers, wives from their husbands ;

Considering that all these facts constitute of themselves, crimes against common right of which it becomes necessary to pursue the offenders individua y ;

Th League regrets that the French Government has found no other means to alve this question than inviting the Neutrals to establish an inquest, and avites the Government to take without delay, the necessary dispositions to assure the repression of crimes and offenses against the Law of Natio- ,

And express the hope :

1° That the crimes and offenses in question be judicially verified without delay, if they have not been thus far ;

2° That their severe repression by regular courts be one of the conditions of Peace.

The Women of France have launched a moving appeal from which we quote the following extracts :

"The touching protests of the highest political, social and religious authorities have not succeeding in arresting these brutal dispersions; the criminal governments are in pursuit, counting upon the fear and passivity of the people."

"To whichever country she belongs, allied, neutral or ennemy, every woman should recognize her responsability. To keep silent is to absolve the soldiers who violate the houses and hold up passers-by to choose among them their victims; it is becoming their accomplices; to keep silent is to prohibit the invocation of laws and treaties, hereafter, to give a private or public action the authority of a moral foundation."

"Let all those whose homes have been spared unite in a spirit of justice and compassion. At the height of anguish and suffering, our sisters victims of might, hope for their relief from the roused conscience of the world."

The "Portugese Women's Crusade" established during the war, at Lisbon, with patriotic motives, has created a propaganda committee destined to collect in all Portugal, and Portugese colonies, and Brazil, nominal adherers to the protestations against the Belgian deportations. To this end, the committee has just issued a vibrant manifesto condemning to the stocks Germany and its "crimes, perpetrated in XXth Century civilization which will never be effaced from the memory of the world, crimes more infamous and brutal, more odious than those of the Moors and Turks whose invasions history has recorded with horror."

The manifesto ends in the following terms.

"Women of Portugal! While our soldiers, with gun and cannon, defend the cause of right and justice, the holy cause of the defense of our

race and our civilization, it is necessary that we all unite in one revolt and inspired by the same horror."

The Council of Trades and Labour of Montreal accepts a resolution containing the following:

Whereas: it is with astonishment and profound indignation that the Labour World has become acquainted with the deportation to Germany of French and Belgian occupied territory;

Whereas: this act of the German Government is contrary not only to international convention but also opposed to the most elementary principles of justice and humanity;

Be it resolved:—That the Council of Trades and Labour of Montreal, representing over 30,000 syndicated workmen and trustful of the solidarity of interests which unites the working classes of the occupied countries and the Canadian proletariat, protest against any system of deportation;

And be it further resolved:—That the Dominion Congress of Trades and Labour be requested to adopt this resolution of protest in all its branches and that is subm't some to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, asking him to apply to the President of the United States to use his influence for the abolition of these arbitrary deportations.

Aside from their reunions above mentioned, others have taken place in the principal cities of France, England and Italy. Everywhere, a large number of personalities have protested by their presence at these meetings, where the orators stigmatized the German proceedings of such a barbarous stamp that they had not been foreseen in a precise manner at the International Conventions, because nobody can suppose that civilized nations imagine the restoration of slavery !

IV.—PROTESTS OF THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

Great indignation in the United States. — All class unite in the same sentiment. — Mass meetings to protest at New-York, Boston, Chicago, Rochester, Minneapolis, etc. — Text of resolution against the deportations. — People clamor for Bernstorff's removal.— American Universities take a place of honour in the manifestations against the deportations. — Project for the creation of a permanent committee of protestation against German barbarities. — Opinion of the American press. — The United States have prohibited the deportations in 1863 and given instructions in consequence. — Text of notes of the United States Government. — On the subject of the Vatican's protest. — Indignation in Holland. — Views of the Dutch Press. — Meetings at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. — Interpellation at the Dutch Parliament. — Special responsibilities of the Dutch Authorities. — Text of Questions put to the Government. — Answer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. — Holland's note to Berlin. — The demands of the "Ligue des Neutres" residing in Holland. — The Swiss Federal Council sent a message to Berlin. — How the Swiss Press takes it. — Speech in the Brazilian Parliament. — Protest of the Argentine Republic. — Protest in the Uruguay. — Swedish meetings of Protestation. — Protest of Swedish intellectuals.

As soon as the doings of the Germans were known, in United States, vehement protestations were heard. Petitions were addressed to President Wilson, asking him to use his influence to prevent the deportations of the Belgians by the German Government.

Upon all the protestations appeared the names of prominent citizens of all the cities of the country.

Judges of the Supreme Court of various States mingled with idealists and reformers ; bishops, archbishops and high-clergymen united with sceptics; railroad presidents with their head workmen; manufacturers with literary men; bankers and business men with painters and sculptors; barristers with laboratory scholars; pacifists with retired army and marine officers; democrats with republicans: all are equally insistent in asking President Wilson to make the greatest effort to save Belgium.

In some instances, entire institutions signed the petition. Statesman also have addressed special letters to the President. It is the wrath of the whole nation, included a great number of German-Americans.

The population of New York indignant at the cruelty of the Germans held a large assembly to protest in the Carnegie Hall, asking the Government to take part.

Heated speeches were heard by Elihu Root, James M. Beck, former assistant Attorney-General for United States, Bishop Gailor, Allan B. Parker and Rev. Wm. T. Manning, pastor of Trinity Church, as chairman.

Vehement expressions of indignation were voiced against the slavery imposed upon Belgium by the German Government. The deportation of the Belgian population was condemned in letters sent by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Archbishop Ireland, Joseph H. Choate and other prominent men. (1)

The archbishop states in his letter that Cardinal Mercier has explained all the details of the deportations. The truth of these declarations cannot be doubted. Facts, as related by him, defy contradiction. No excuse can alleviate the frightful cruelty exercised over them.

For its own salvation, for the love of the honorable record, it covers in the history of nations, Germany, we hope, will speedily abandon this policy and will let Belgians live and suffer on its own soil.

"We have not assembled here to give vent to hatred" said Doctor Manning. "We do not condemn all the German race. *We know it has been mislead, betrayed by those in whom it had placed its trust.*

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(1) Letters and speeches have been published in a pamphlet : *The Enslavement of Belgians. A Protest.*

We believe there are many Germans who condemn these infamies as much as we do. We hope to see them soon liberated from the fetters of those unscrupulous autocrats, who have lowered Germany from the high rank it occupied among the nations and reduced it to crimes which revolt the world.

Let the people appeal to the government that the latter may speak without delay, not in mild and respectful terms, because such acts do not deserve respect, but in severe indignation, and in a tone of moral condemnation which shall be heard throughout the world."

At this meeting, several addresses was presented by the Hon. James Beck, the ex-judge Parker and the Hon. Elihu Root.

The speakers have eloquently shown the unhappy situation of Belgian people and the necessity of protestations, and even more than the protestations.

President Hibben of Princeton University said :

"I am here to-night not merely in my own personal capacity but representing 150 members of the Princeton faculty, who three weeks ago signed a petition, sent to the President of the United States, protesting against the German outrages in Belgium in carrying away these poor, miserable sufferers into slavery."

The text of the request follows.

After several "Whereas" it was resolved :

"That we request the Government of the United States to protest with all its force and earnestness against these outrages; to emphasize the detestation with which the American people regard these abuses; and to request the German Government in the name of all neutrals, to cease its policy of expatriation and slavery; and we pledge our utmost support to the administration in whatever way it may conclude to act."

That copies of these resolutions be sent to all the representatives of the German Government who can be reached in this country." (1)

In Minneapolis, the meeting was held in the Auditorium, with Mr. William C. Edgar, editor of "The Belman", as chairman. We see in the programme, reading of communications from T. Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Charles Eliot, Myron Herrick, E. Havenith, Belgian minister to the United States and a cable from Mr. H. Carton de Wiart, Belgian minister of Justice, Le Havre.

The reading of Cardinal Mercier's appeal by Rev. J. M. Cleary and address from Mr. W. Vance, Rev. H. Dewey and Mrs Thomas Winter was listen with the greatest interest. (2)

Mass meetings was be held in a great number of cities in the United States: Boston, Chicago, Rochester, etc

(1) It is in United States, 29 representatives, ambassador and consuls, of the German empire.

(2) Published in a pamphlet : *A protest against the deportation of the Belgians.*

Generally, all these meetings are the same, but they prove that everywhere it is the same sentiments of repulsion against the barbarities of the Germans and same sympathy for the Belgians.

In all these meetings, resolutions were adopted pressing the "government of the United States to protest vigorously in every way possible, against these outrages; to conclude of the impressions upon the American people the sight of such abuses, and to ask the German Government in the name of all the neutrals to cease its policy of exploitation and slavery, assuring the administration of our support in whatever steps it might take."

It is to remain that very often when the [illegible] Bernstorff was pronounced, interruptions and [illegible] are taking place, asking his removal.

Clergymen and presidents of American [illegible] have drawn up a petition with a view of appealing to [illegible] ponering circles in Germany, demanding their intervention (1).

Clergymen and presidents of American Universities we cite below that of Mr. Murray, [illegible] of the Princeton University :

"We, the undersigned, members [illegible] the Faculty [illegible] versity, address an appeal in the name [illegible] Belgium.

"Disasters without equal have come to the country [illegible] but to have defended their homes with [illegible]

Overwhelmed by the strength of an army of a nation [illegible] protest it, devastated by cruelties without precedent in modern history, stripped of its natural resources, impoverished by stupendous [illegible], the brave and unhappy Belgians are reduced to a lamentable state of misery.

"An atrocity actually in course of execution crowns all else. By dozens thousands of non-combatants, [illegible] a large number were constrained to return to Belgium with the promise of being [illegible], have been brutally dragged from their homes and family to [illegible] interior of the German Empire.

"In the presence of an injustice, so hideous, [illegible] upon innocent and unfortunate people, the great American [illegible] cannot remain silent and inactive.

Consequently, we make an appeal to you [illegible] demand of the German Government the cessation of hostilities, the immediate cessation of the deportation of Belgians and the prompt return to their homes of all such victims.

We promise you [illegible] support in all the efforts which you believe necessary to undertake to accomplish our just demand.

During one meeting of protestations it was question to organize a permanent committee having charge to denounce continually and by [illegible] means, the barbarous procedure of Germany.

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(1) Faith in such action is illusion pure and simple. (See notes pp. 1 and 2). The defection of the Social-democracy and the attitude of the religious authorities should be significant in apprehending results of any appeal to Germany.

The American press has given the greatest publicity to meetings against the deportations of Belgians. Unanimously, it condemns such procedure and asks the intervention of their government.

The following contained in the "New York Times" of November 19th, expresses very well the opinion of the American press :

"Our government can, very opportunely, express the hope that these reports are not founded, but, that if Germany means to have recourse to such a proceeding the U. S. will protest with the necessary firmness. This means of preventing or alleviating suffering is not less accessible than is the one magnified by the call of the president. The war has most probably reached its last stages. And Heaven knows all the inhuman and iliegal practices it has witnessed. As a government and as a race, we should employ every expedient to prevent the great struggle from degenerating into madness and barbarism."

It is interesting to note that, as early as 1863, at the time of the Civil War in the United States, deportation of the civilian populations had been foreseen and precluded.

In the "Instructions for the Campaign armies of the United States" we read the appreciation of half a century ago.

21. Every citizen or native of an enemy's country is an enemy, for the reason that he is a member of the nation or State which is an enemy; and, as such he is subject to all the calamities of war.

22. However, owing to the progress of civilization during the 1st centuries, custom has prevailed to establish a marked distinction between the individual belonging to the enemy country, and the mass of the country represented by the armed soldiers. It is a principle which is becoming generally recognized, particularly with regard to continental wars, *that an unarmed citizen should be respected in his person, his property, and his honour,* inasmuch as the exigencies of war permit.

23. Civilians are no longer put to death, *reduced to slavery or deported*, and the commandant of enemy troops shall spare inoffensive persons all annoyance inasmuch as the imperious exigencies of a war conducted on the strongest lines will allow.

24. Every individual belonging to an enemy, in ancient times and yet to-day *with some barbarous peoples*, was *deprived of liberty*, protection and witnessed the wreckage of all family ties. Protection was then and is now with non-civilized populations, the exception.

It belonged to Germany, in the XXth Century, to place herself at the rank of those peoples which the United States, in 1863, qualified as "barbarous and non-civilized" by restoring practices which, more than half a century ago, were considered as belonging to an age long since past.

Washington had no alternative. (1) Instructions were given to Mr. Grew, American Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin, to represent to the German Government what a disastrous effect the deportations of the Belgians into Germany had operated on the opinion of neutral nations, particularly the United States. That these transportations are not only a violation of International Law, but also in direct opposition with the promise made by the Germans to cease such acts in June 1916, when deporting women from the north of France, the case of Belgium being identical.

The text of this note, cabled the 29th of November, and made public the 8th of December by the State Government, reads as follows :

" The Government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German Government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population for the purpose of forcing them to labor in Germany and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants in conquered territory.

Furthermore, the Government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy, if pursued, will in all probability, be fatal to the Belgian Relief Work, so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German Government."

In a few time after, the American Government sent a second note :

" Acting on its own behalf, the American Government has informed Germany a new of its deep concern over the deportation of Belgians by the German military authorities. This action has been taken as a result of information about the deportations gathered from different sources, and after fruitless informal efforts on behalf of the Belgians made by Mr. Grew, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin.

Germany has been informed that the treatment of the Belgians has made a very bad impression in this country, and that the United States cannot avoid taking notice of the situation, basing its stand on the broad grounds of humanity.

The American Government, it was learned today, was led to move not only because of the expressed feeling that the deportations had been looked

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(1) The Belgian minister at Washington, has placed the following note into the hands of the United States Government :

" The German Governor-General in Belgium is forcing thousands of Belgian workmen who are unemployed or without work to go to Germany, to work in the quarries, in manufacturing concrete and in lime kilns, under the pretext that they are a charge upon public charity.

" The Belgian Government protests energetically against this coercive measure, which is contrary to the law of nations and the laws of humanity.

" The Government of the King asks the active intervention of the Government of the United States to obtain the cessation of the deportation of Belgian workmen into Germany and to obtain the liberation of those who have already been deported.

" The Germans claim that these workmen are not employed in war industries. It should be remarked, however, that they are employed in industries directly connected with the war, and that the Belgian laborer releases a great number of German workmen who are sent to the front. Thus these Belgian workmen are compelled practically to fight against their own country."

upon with disfavor both by the American people and Government, but because of fear that Belgian relief work, which is administered by Americans, may be interfered with.

Ambassador Gerard, who expects to leave for Berlin Tuesday, will be in a position to present the personal views of President Wilson to the German Foreign Office when he arrives there.

On the subject of the protest of the Vatican, we find in "The Gazette de Lausanne" from a correspondent of Rome :

"I believe that the change in the attitude of the Vatican undeniable if one recalls the pope's timidity towards the Germans during the first year of the war — has been determined largely by the Belgian question, notably the deportation incidents. The pope, as I recently informed you, has been moved and become indignant at the various information which has reached him concerning the conduct of the German authorities upon this occasion. And Benedict XV has been all the more offended in so much as the German Government has taken no account of the claims and protestations of the Holy See relatively to the subject, as Cardinal Mercier's recent letter testifies."

The cardinal Secretary of State Gasparri sent to the cardinal Mercier a letter containing the following :

"The Holy Father has received the letter from Your Eminence, dated the 12th, also the documents annexed to it, relative to the deportations of Belgians to Germany.

The August Pontiff, in whose paternal heart all the sufferings of the well beloved Belgian people finds a resounding echo, has commanded me to inform Your Eminence that, through a deep interest of your severely tried populations, He has already communicated with the Imperial Government of Germany in their behalf, and will do all in his power to bring about a cessation in the transportations, and for the return of the deportees to their country and their afflicted homes."

The Dutch press, interpreter of the public opinion, frankly gives forth its ideas. The most neutral papers (1) have reproduced the Belgian protestations and contain indignant articles on this infamy.

A Dutch paper, of prudent neutrality and not suspected of being hostile to Germany, appreciates as follows the deportation policy presently put into practice by the Germans :

"The unfortunate Belgium has not yet reached the limit of her sufferings, says the *Nieuwe Courant* of November 10, 1916 ; after all her miseries, of which the population has especially suffered, a new plague has fallen on her. The new measure is called the "Transfer of Belgian unemployed." They have begun to put into practice some time ago. Thousands of Belgian workingmen have been transported into Germany. The Belgian Government, according to declarations made by the Minister of Justice, holds evidence to the fact that this deportation is being conducted against every law of humanity and the law of nations.

"In Germany, they are attempting to deceive public opinion by disparaging all the Belgian unemployed in a like manner. We have known for a long time that thousands of Belgian workmen consider that patriotism is incompatible with labour in the shops, which, directly or indirectly, serve

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(1) Among others, the "Limburger Koerier" says : "The Belgium is right. The Netherlands are concerned in this question. And we are firmly convinced that our authorities will not fail to ask explanations from the general government in Belgium."

the German army. We know that, by the lack of raw material or because the employers have closed their shops for patriotic reasons, a great number of workingmen are unemployed in spite of themselves. Our correspondent even says that, for the mass of the population, this state of unemployment is the rule. And those men are taken away from their families, to go and work in slavery, for it means nothing else !

"The law of nations forbids the occupying force to compel the population to work for the occupant.

"This does not constitute an impediment for Germany.

"War necessity," does she say once more.

"Poor Belgium! it is through necessity of war, it has been destroyed, through necessity of war, the family ties are now being broken and a premium is offered to complicity with the occupant."

A public protestation meeting was held in Rotterdam under the auspices of the "Social democratische Arbeiders Party" of Holland. It is the first reunion of the kind held in a neutral country observes the "Indépendance Belge" and we owe hommage to the Dutch Socialist Party for having taken the initiative. It must be hoped, for the dignity of the neutral nations and of humanity that the example from Rotterdam will be followed.

Relatively to this meeting, the "Echo Belge" say that all men of good faith were admitted regardless of party distinctions or nationality.

Mr. Duys, Member of the Dutch Parliament, announces that the protestations were directed neither against Germany nor the Germans, but against a flagrant violation of the International Law.

The acts in question are bound to interest all humanity. Mr. Duys recalled that, in October 1914, a pressure was exercised over Belgian refugees in Holland, encouraging them to return in Belgium, with the promise that they would neither be made prisoners, nor deported to Germany. This promise has now been openly broken by Germany. (1)

The social-demokraten Germans themselves should object to this odious conduct, since the German Government pretends that these deportations are effected to do away with idleness, the Dutch Government should, for social reasons, and not for military reasons, request the German Government to leave the Belgians return to Holland of their own free will.

The next speaker, Mr. Camille Huysmans, remarked that, "to the indescribable suffering of the Belgians one

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(1) Reports from The Hague, through the Press, say that General von Huene, military Governor of Antwerp, has been discharged for having promised the Dutch authorities, in 1914, that Belgians returning to their country would not be deported.

Germany is now obliged to return to Holland those Belgians who had returned to Belgium on the reassurance of von Huene, promises which the Dutch authorities had endorsed.

General von Huene having sollicited a command, his demand was repulsed. He will be replaced in Antwerp by General von Zwehl, military Governor of Maubeuge.

must add that of slavery; at the present hour, nothing is left of that once flourishing country, Germany has laid it to waste. There have been issued numerous ordinances by the German authorities, in 1915, that those who, at that time, would refuse to work would be severely punished.

To-day, we behold with stupefaction the restoration of slavery. Nearly every country has offered some protest, even the socialist workingmen of Hungary.

The orator pleaded strongly to the Netherlands in favour of his oppressed countrymen. He said he did not wish them to declare war with Germany, but he asked them for the moral support which an act of protestation would inspire. It is in this sense that the aid from Holland, upon which we reckon, is precious."

Both orators were warmly applauded by the large attendance. At the close of the meeting, the following resolution was unanimously adopted. "The Social-Democratische-Arbeiders Party protests most vehemently against the deportation of Belgian non-combatants. It appeals to the chief magistrates of all the neutral countries and to the socialists of all countries, even to those of the Central Powers, that they may protest to the German government against the violation of the rights of man, as ratified by Germany at The Hague."

At Amsterdam, another meeting was held, of which Judge Kliegen was chief orator. He energetically condemned the German proceedings.

A resolution stating that the deportations were not only contrary to the laws of humanity, but also the The Hague Conventions, and entreating the socialists, neutral and German, to protest, was unanimously adopted. The "Central News" says that the text of the resolution was telegraphed to the Committee of the German socialist party, in view of the meeting of the Reichstag of the following day.

Mr. Duys also addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a few questions pertaining to the return of Belgian refugees in 1914.

The newspaper "Het Volk" gives the following text of these questions :

1° Does the Government know that for some time the Germans have been deporting thousands of Belgian civilians into Germany by force of arms ?

2° Is it exact that, regarding the return of Belgian refugees, of which thousands are now actually being deported, that there was at the time, a compromise between the Dutch Government and higher authorities in Germany, as it would seem by the following publication of Mr. Zimmermann, Burgomaster at Rotterdam, dated October 17th, 1914, which says :

"The Burgomaster of Rotterdam to the Belgian refugees :

The Burgomaster of Rotterdam wishes to make known that the Dutch Government and the German authorities have reached a compromise for the return of Belgian refugees to their own country. The return may be made not only towards Antwerp and vicinity, but also everywhere in Belgium.

Are excepted only those who wear the uniform. These will be held, and conducted to Germany.

The Burgomaster therefore recommends to all refugees to return to their country as it is, in the interests of the latter that the ordinary course of affairs should be resumed. The Burgomaster also hopes that all inhabitants of Rotterdam who are lodging refugees will help them in that effect.

He invites those inhabitants to inform to the Police Headquarters whether the Belgians they harbour are able to return to their country. Trains are again circulating between Antwerp and Roosendael, and food is plentiful at Antwerp.

The Burgomaster of Rotterdam.

3° Is it true that, at the time of this compromise, the German Government plighted its promise to the Dutch authorities not to deport civilians who would thus return to Belgium, as it appears in an official publication of our Consul-General at Antwerp, Mr. J. A. Van den Berg, dated Oct. 17th, 1914, which says :

"The Consul General of the Netherlands, at Antwerp, makes known by these presents, that he considers conditions at Antwerp, quiet and normal. No one is annoyed. It is absolutely necessary to the interests of the Belgian population that the refugees of Antwerp return to their city and resume their occupation.

The Consul General, after a conversation with the actual Governor of the City of Antwerp, can add that he has been given assurance that His Excellency would strictly abide by The Hague Conventions in such a manner that the interests of the two parties would be safeguarded by conditions predetermined by contract, by which private property, individual liberty and the honour of women and girls would be respected.

As a result of the declarations of the German authorities, the young men who do not belong to the army and the civilian guards, may return peacefully. The above mentioned authorities do not in the least wish to molest the last mentioned class, still less deport them into Germany.

It is the most order wish of the German authorities to see the population of Antwerp place its confidence with them, that it may contribute to the welfare of the population.

The Consul General of the Netherlands.

4° Does our government believe that, if this be true, the German authorities have broken faith with the Dutch Government, and in such case, what steps does it propose to take, or what measures has it already adopted to recall the German government to a reckoning for such breach of promise ?

The "Het Volk" ends by the following words an article in which it quotes Belgian and Dutch papers :

"If our propositions are just, the German Government represents the Dutch authorities as unfaithful to the promise given to the thousands of refugees who sought shelter on Dutch territory.

We insist, most seriously, with the Dutch Government, that it publicly announce just how far it is involved, though involuntarily, in the crime committed against the Belgian workingmen, and what proceedings it means to adopt or has already adopted.

Mr. Schaper, a socialist member, had already protested to the Lower House against the "slight pressure" brought to tear upon the Belgians, in view of their return to Belgium.

In reply to these questions, the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared he had sent a note to the German Government in which he condemned the deportations as being contrary to the rules and the spirit of International Law.

The note added that the Government was responsible for the Belgians, in a certain measure, otherwise, as a neutral country, it would not have swerved from its principles of non-intervention.

The note also recalled that in 1914, the Dutch authorities encouraged the Belgian refugees to return to their country after having concluded an agreement with Germany, which guaranteed the personal liberty of the Belgians.

For this reason the Dutch Government expresses the hope that the ex-refugees of Holland in Germany will be returned to their homes.

The "Central News" reports that the Dutch section of the Neutral League has received thousands of letters expressing their enthusiastic adhesion to the idea of appealing to America. The signees would have the American Government take the initiative in protesting to the neutral countries about the Belgian deportations.

Same appreciations can be read in all dutch papers: "Dagblad van Zuid Holland", "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant," "De Tijd," "De Nederlander," "Het Volk," etc.

The Dutch section of the "Ligue des Pays Neutres" has recently addressed to the Heads of all the Neutral States, a telegram concerning the deportations from Belgium and the North of France, we are acquainted of its tenure as follows :

"Fifteen thousand Dutch have signed our address, inviting the Government of the Netherlands to concert with that of the other neutral Powers for collective action in view of putting an end to the daily crimes of the German authorities in Belgium and the North of France, and which are an opprobium to humanity.

In awaiting the answer of our Government, we respectfully beg you to second our efforts, for we long to do all in our power to hasten the end of the infernal plague which holds full sway in the occupied regions, and each day of delay, increases the number of its victims.

The Germans have already sent from France to Belgium hundreds of Belgiums which have returned in a deplorable state of mind and health. They had been employed in the North of France in labours bearing directly upon military operations.

In a like manner, French in Belgium are forced to labour. Thousands of Belgians, sent to Germany, among whom a large number of skilled workmen were in no wise unemployed, are suffering a most cruel fate. As long as they refuse to work for the Germans they remain in concentration camps where they are starved almost to death.

No doubt, you are acquainted with these facts, but we wish to recall them, the geographical situation of Holland placing us in a measure to control them better than anywhere else, in collecting the testimony of the French and Belgians who have sought a refuge in Holland.

The German Government has not ceased the deportations.

This state of things must cease. That is the reason of our final appeal. We address you in the name of humanity and our hope is anchored by those sentiments of justice which we rate as the highest prerogative of the leaders of men.

His Eminence, Cardinal Mercier, said recently : "Belgium now suffers more than ever before. We are here as prisoners. If the neutrals knew of the treatment to which we must submit, they would not be limit their protestations to their verbal expression."

To-day, we directly address the heads of all the Neutral States of Europe and America.

It is, in fact, incumbent upon Neutral States to immediately arrest the torture of the civilian populations in those regions occupied by the German armies. Their union would be the required strength."

The same section has appealed to all the Heads of the neutral governments that the latter may unite to arrest the crimes of the Germans in Belgium, and a memorandum of the same bearing 15,000 signatures has been addressed to the Governments of the Netherlands, relatively to this question.

In Switzerland, the Federal Council equally decided to protest to Berlin, by charging the Swiss Minister, to draw the attention of the Chancellor upon the emotion provoked among the people bearing on their opinions of the deportations.

We may see how these measures are appreciated in the Swiss Press. We read in the "Journal de Genève":

"The action of the Federal Council responds to the unanimous and ardent sentiment of our population, at least in Italian Switzerland. We are persuaded that these steps will be equally approved and seconded by our confederates.

It seems that all Switzerland must reprove an act of such abomination committed against the unfortunate Belgians, at one violating The Hague Treaty, and the most elementary rules of Humanity.

The Federal Council has learnt from the people of Switzerland, of another affair of the same nature. 150,000 citizens have requested intervention in favour of deportees in the North of France. We do not doubt that the central administration will find the proper terms to express its opinion on these lamentable and revolting facts."

The "Vaterland of Lucerne" writes on this subject :

"This is the first time that the Federal Council takes diplomatic proceedings towards the belligerent relatively to a question which does not directly concern the citizens or the interests of Switzerland, but which largely concerned every country in the defense of the principles of the law of nations.

As long as the government is quiet, German Switzerland remains mute. If the authorities rise in protest, German Switzerland will follow. It may be relied upon to do this, and now that the Federal Council has spoken, there exists no motive to hush its approbation."

A public meeting was held in Lausanne and the resolution of protestation send to Mr. Van der Velde.

Swedish meetings of protestation against Belgian deportations were held at Stockolm, Gotebourg and Malmo. The chief orator was the Leader of the Social Democratic Party, and the measures adopted by the German Government were denounced for reasons identical to those proffered by other countries.

After the meeting of Stockolm, Mr. Brantling, leader of the Swedish Socialist Party sent the following message to Mr. E. Van der Velde :

"A large public reunion was held on the 2nd of January 1917, at the "Maison du Peuple de Stockolm" after a conference given by the undersigned. The concourse applauded the resolution by which the Swedish labourers joined in protest against the Belgian deportations, inviting the Government to present a petition to Berlin, in the name of International Law.

The meeting decided to advise you of this at once, and to greet your endeavour."

The Swedish Intellectuals have formulated a protestation signed by 140 of the principal scientists, writers and statesmen. The following is an extract :

"We express our ardent sympathy for the Belgian people in its life-struggle and we believe that during this war, their undeserved sufferings have been such that we are bound to do all that is humanly possible to relieve them.

We hope that the best elements of the German race will do all in their power to prevent the deportations."

At Rio-de-Janeiro, Brazil, a message of the 10th of December quotes Mr. Goncalves Maïa, of the House of Commons, as having energically protested against the Belgian deportations, and as having proposed to the House to question the Minister of Foreign Affairs, relative to he attitude of Brazil, confronting this violation of the Law of Nations.

Mr. Goncalves Maïa addressed the Lower House of the Brazilian Parliament as follows :

Mr. President :

Accustomed as we are to violation of right and justice, and however indifferent our hearts may appear before those nameless crimes daily perpetrated in the European War against Civilization and Humanity, from the sinking of the Lusitania to the murder of Capt. Fryatt and Miss Cavell, there is another crime which I believe will arouse our listless and indolent neutrality.

It is the slavery inflicted by the Huns of the XXth century upon the population of Belgium; the imposition of war labours.

Only the day before yesterday, I read in a Journal the mention of a telegram by which the United States are said to have exposed to the German Ambassador how this crime had awakened the indignation of all the civilized world.

Then, it was the echo of the forcible words of Cardinal Mercier, carrying abroad the protest of the Catholic World.

And yesterday, the journal, "A Noticia" published the protest of King Albert and his appeal to the neutral governments. I should much desire that the nation which recently suggested the formation of a neutral international league for the defense of their interests inscribe as a primary statute their protest against this horrible crime. I am convinced that it will. However, as Senator and representative of Pernambuco and Brazil, I wish to depose my protest of effective solidarity with the words of King Albert, and, in my protest, I convey to the Belgian people who have been the effective barrier behind which has been organized the defence of latin civilization, all my hopes for the early down of victory.

In the Argentine Republic, the deputy Thomaso, secretary of the socialist party, sent a cablegram of protestation against the deportations of Belgians and said that all the population is indignated, that meetings will be held and the resolutions will be sent to the German Social-democracy.

Same thing in Uruguay.

There are perhaps many other important protestations, but it is enough, to note that the whole universe arises, indignant, protesting against this restoration of slavery in the twentieth century !

If the Malays, the Kafirs and the Hottentots could do so, they too would protest against such dealing as reverting to a less enlightened and a barbarous age !

V.—WHAT GERMANY ANSWERS.

The Answers to the notes. — Duplicity of the Wilhelmstrasse. — Arrogance towards small States. — Answer to the Government of Switzerland. — The Rights of the small States. — To Netherlands. — Different attitudes towards different States. — Text of answer to United States. — Alleged reasons of justification. — Art. 43 and 52 of the Hague Convention. — The German Press. — Accusations against England unjustifiable.

And, in the presence of this general protest, what is the attitude of the German Government ?

Has it modified its plans in any way ? Not radically. To have supposed so would have been fostering one more illusion which would now be cast aside.

It has, however, affected certain minor changes, and without mentioning them in its answers. And the latter ? Naturally they differed according to the countries to which they were addressed by the Wilhelmstrasse.

To Switzerland, a little country which should not exist according to German ideals, (1) the answer came in polite terms, implying that Switzerland has no right to interfere with happenings in Belgium as long as its interests are not at stake, simply meaning that it is none of her affairs and that she may better tend to her own business !

May it be said without offense to the " Men of Kultur," International Law are the laws of all nations, as well as the Laws of Humanity are the laws of all humanity; and all nations, great or small, are interested therein, and have a right to see that International Law and other Laws of Humanity are duly respected. Consequently, every nation has a right of intervention, (right which has been much over-looked during the present war), each time the Law of Nations is violated.

It may be that one nation, confident in its strength, confuses *might* with *right*, and disregarding treaties, international conventions, sets about to lord it over the neighboring nations; but it must be admitted that this is unjust and decidedly against the laws of civilization.

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(1) See the pamphlet " Les Dessous d'un projet d'alliance, La propagande allemande," " Kleine Lander haben Keine Existenz berechtigung, Sie leben nur von Neid der Grossmaechte " c'est-à-dire, " Les petits Etats n'ont pas droit d'existence, ils ne vivent que par la bienveillance des grandes Puissances." p. 15.

In its reply to the Holland, Berlin attempts to make excuses for slave raids(1). A despatch from The Hague, Jan. 12th, 1917, said: "A parliamentary paper gives the text of Germany's reply to the Dutch protest note regarding the deportation of Belgians. The reply, which is a lengthy one, brings forth arguments to justify the German measures regarding those able to work, but unwilling to do so.

Incidentally it declares that in the opinion of the German Government the American Relief Commission in Belgium may be regarded as an institution of a public character, dispensing public charity.

The note says that many of the unemployed Belgians accepted work in Germany voluntarily, and others necessarily by compulsion, but that none of them have been forced to work in contravention of international law.

Regarding the Dutch remonstrances concerning Belgian refugees who returned to Belgium from Holland on the strength of the promise of Governor von Huene, of Antwerp, that they would not be molested, but who afterwards were deported, Germany announces her willingness to repatriate all these people on condition that Holland undertake to care for them should they not find work, it being asserted that Germany cannot permit them to become charges on public charity.

The Parliamentary paper concludes by saying that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has accepted this latter condition, and that lists of names of Belgians concerned will be supplied to the German Government."

The tone of the note to the United States was to be quite different. Cleverly worded, it side-tracks the principal issues, gives reasons which do not exist, and seeks justification by calling into question acts which are purely imaginary. It has recourse to subterfuge, lies and anything which can legitimate an attitude or measures contrary to the Laws.

All answers to American notes, bear about the same stamp. Discussions wear on indefinitely, wasting time, particularly when other events crop up, as in this case, the question of peace, which has set in the back-ground that of Belgian deportations.

The text of the German reply to Washington is as follows :

"The Government of the United States has protested against the compulsory employment for work of the Belgian unemployed, which step was

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(1) The "Amsterdam Telegraaf" says that Germany's note in answer to that of the Dutch Government, relatively to the deportations was so disobligingly worded that it could not be communicated to Parliament.

The Dutch Government returned the said note to Berlin, asking for a more courteous reply which would permit a reading in the House of Netherlands.

taken from the point of view that these measures are in contravention of human principles and of international practice as to the treatment of the population of occupied territories. The German Government thinks that the Government of the United States of America has been incorrectly informed about the cause and the execution of measures taken, and it therefore considers it appropriate to first explain the facts in detail.

"In Belgium, unemployment since a considerable time, has been extending in a perplexing way among the industrial workingmen. This problem of unemployment has been caused by the British policy of isolation, which has cut off Belgian industry from the importation of raw materials and from the exportation of manufactured goods, thus bringing most of the Belgian work to a standstill. By this measure almost half of the workingmen of the Belgian factories, numbering in round figures, altogether more than 1,200,000, were deprived of the possibility of earning a living, and many more than 500,000 Belgians, who formerly supported themselves by industrial work, were thus made dependent upon public relief. Adding the members of the families of these people, the number increases therefold to 1,500,000, in round figures.

"From the standpoint of Belgian economic life, for which the unemployed form a heavy burden; from the standpoint of public order and public morals, which are most dangerously affected by the general unemployment, and its accompanying consequences, this situation makes it extremely desirable and urgent that efficient measures for improvement should be taken. This necessity has been recognized, and has been pointed out also by fair-minded Belgians for a long time.

"Under such condition the Governor-General at Brussels, on May 15, 1916, issued an order by which persons enjoying public relief and declining without sensible reasons to accept or to continue work corresponding to their abilities, will have confinement, or coercive labor, imposed on them. The Belgian industries being in a depressed state, it was impossible to secure work for all unemployed, or at least employment in Belgium herself.

"The only thing possible, therefore, was to assign to them work in Germany, where a large number of Belgian workingmen had already voluntarily accepted work, were perfectly fed, receiving high wages and enjoying a far-reaching liberty of movement. For those workingmen who do not support their families, however, coercive labor was introduced. Those measures are completely in accordance with International Law. According to paragraph 43 of The Hague regulations for land warfare, a occupying power is obliged to care for the maintenance of public order and public life in occupied districts and for this purpose, as far as the country's own laws prove to be insufficient to issue, complementary orders.

"The maintenance of public order doubtless imples that able-bodied persons, as far as they live on public charity and by their idleness become a public calamity and a nuisance, should be held to work. The order has been carried out under the observance of all possible considerations and without harshness. If isolated mistakes have been made in the selection of the persons sent to Germany, and if, especially, the measure has been extended also to persons to whom the conditions of the order of May 15, 1916, do not apply, this has been caused by the fact that the Belgian authorities frequently failed to cooperate in the drawing up of the lists of unemployed or by their reporting in an incorrect way. Care has been taken that such mistakes are made good as quickly as possible, for, above all, it is to be insisted upon that only such persons are sent to Germany who receive public support, who find no work in Belgium, and who refuse the work offered to them in Germany. The unemployed are being sent from the central receiving places, which have been established at Altengrabow, Guben, Cassel, Maschede, Munster, Soltau and Wittenberg, to their working places, where they are to be employed in agricultural and industrial establishments.

"Employments to which a hostile population cannot be coerced, in accordance with international law, are, of course, excluded. If the Government of the United States attaches importance to it, a member of its embassy in Berlin will be permitted with pleasure to inform himself by a personal visit about the conditions under which these persons are living.

"The German Government greatly deplores that by a slandering press campaign of her enemies, the conditions as stated above have been completely distorted by the United States. The German Government would likewise extremely deplore, not the least in the interest of the Belgian po-

pulation, if by these distortions the highly beneficial action of the relief committee should be hampered.

"The German Government finally feels obliged to point out the fact that the deportations of the German population from parts of Germany and from German colonies occupied by hostile troops, especially the deportation of women, children and old persons from eastern Russia to Siberia, as far as it is known here, has not given the neutral states an inducement to take steps against the responsible governments similar to those now being taken against Germany. At all events, there can be no doubt that the enemy measures mentioned were gross violations of the laws of humanity and of the rules of international law, after the explanations given the measures of the German Government are absolutely in accordance with these principles."

This document which took shape in Wilhelmstrasse is a master-piece of its kind ! It is worthy of gross German diplomacy ! To believe these good apostles, the deportations were in the interest of the Belgians, and in every point in conformity with The Hague Conventions! (1) This preoccupation in the interest of Belgium is touching! They would dare pretend with the same impudence and blindness of will that the invasion and atrocities of August, 1914 have been committed in the interest of Belgium ! Then, England is blamed for having prohibited the importation of raw material! After all the raw material and machinery in Belgium were trucked off to Germany, by the Germans themselves, it required the brazen brow of a German to make such a statement! And finally, it would appear that Prussians had been

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(1) After the "Norddeutsche Zeitung" the Spanish Embassy at Berlin remitted a protest of the Belgian Government against the deportations to the German Government.

The protestation was rejected as unfounded, the German Government pretends that the decree of the Governor General of Brussels threatening those who received help from public sources with imprisonment or enforced labour in those cases where they refused to work, is in keeping with the articles 43 and 52 of the Hague Convention

These articles which appear below have been falsely interpreted by the German authorities. There is food for discussion in the term "secours publics". Can it aptly qualify the relief procured by the Relief Committee ? In any case, articles 43 and 52 can serve as a basis to the contention in this particular case.

The aid sent to Belgium since the beginning of the war constitutes an ADMIRABLE EFFORT OF HUMANE SOLIDARITY AND PATRIOTISM, NO CONTRIBUTION TO WHICH HAS BEEN ASKED OF EITHER GERMANY OR OCCUPIED BELGIUM.

Moreover, there are other deportees, belonging to a well-to-do class, and men of liberal professions.

ART. 43. — *The authority of legitimate power having effectually passed to the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures within his power to restore and assure, as much as possible, public order and security, respecting meantime the laws existant in the country, unless absolutely prevented from so doing.*

ART. 52. — *Requisitions in kind and in services, will be asked but for the needs of the occupying army. They shall be proportioned to the ressources of the country of a nature not to oblige the inhabitants to take part in military operations against their own country.*

Such services and requisitions must be asked upon authorisation of the commandant of the occupied locality.

Contributions in kind shall be, as much as possible, paid in specie; if not, a receipt shall be given and the payment of the sum shall be effected as soon as possible.

deported to Siberia without any protest from the neutrals! It is curious to see the German Government worry over the interests of the Belgians and neglect its own countrymen! If there were any deportations to Siberia, it would have befitted the German Government to be the first to complain, like the Belgian Government, for the belgian deportations! But, it is now the first time we hear of these deportations, and they are evoked in the defense of an unworthy cause.

The documents we have published meet all the arguments of the German note and reduce them to nothingness, for they are not mere statement: substantiating proof accompanies them.

The German Press naturally entered a warm plea for the Government's cause, and in its turn attempted to justify these barbarous measures.

"The deportations" says the Kolnische Volkzeitung, "have no reference to the war. They are dictated by a wholesome consideration of administration policy alone. Thousands of valid workmen going to ruin through inactivity and spending their time in saloons can no longer be tolerated."

The paper adds that the German steps in this direction were prompted by humane motives, which justifies coercion in actual circumstances.

It says, "Have not the English themselves used coercion to oblige their own subjects to work in munition factories?"

It seems that to establish such a comparison testifies a total loss of the notion of things! To compare, it would be necessary to establish that the English had penetrated Germany and brought back to England Germans which they would have placed under the obligation of working against their own country. But, let us examine more attentively the German lies!

VI.—GERMAN LIES.

The motives for deportation. — Military mobilization and Workmenship mobilization. — Declaration of the German Socialist Scheidmann. — Von Bissing fears uprising at the inevitable signal to retreat. — Germany pretends the deportees are idlers and unemployed. — Evidence of the contrary. — German authorities create idleness. — Patriotic attitude of the working classes. — The Relief of Belgium and the work of the Belgian Relief organization. — Deportation of working men and citizens of liberal professions. — Hunting up of available men for mobilization. — Proofs and documents. — The redemption of slaves. — Enforced labor. — Unavowable methods to obtain "voluntary" labour. — Treason or starvation. — Belgians refuse to sign the engagements. — Ill treatment. — Numberless violations of International Law.

It is time that things be righted. Aside from what the Germans may say, there remains... the Truth!

What was the motive of the German Government in deporting the Belgians? Would it be dual mobilization: MILITARY MOBILIZATION and WORKMENSHIP MOBILIZATION.

As regards military mobilization, the German forsee a falling back in the near future and they do not believe it expedient to leave in their wake an entire population in condition to bear arms.

They know the Belgian Government appealed to its countrymen for Belgians from 18 to 40 years and the call was responded to with alacrity! They well know that the invaded country furnishes a contingent whose hatred for the German agressor doubles its strength! They have been eye-witnesses to the destruction of their country and German atrocities which will remain proverbial! To the massacre of disarmed men, women and children! To organized thieving and sacking! For more than two years they have suffered the brutalities of the most unscrupulous invader committing all manner of exactions! What splendid men for King Albert's armies! This the Germans know and want to avoid at any cost!

A despatch from The Hague dated December 21st is significant in this respect. The official Belgian publication office in The Hague issued the following communication regarding the deportations of Belgians by the Germans:

"No sophism, no Wolff Bureau despatch and no circular by General von Bissing can explain away the fact that Philipp Scheidemann (Socialist member of the Reichstag) when in The Hague, freely admitted that the deportations were ordered by Field Marshal von Hindenburg and not by Emperor William. Therefore, they are undeniably of a military character."

And who knows, if, continuing to violate every principle, they would not force the German uniform, so often dishonored, upon the Belgians and compel them to fight against their own country! We believe them capable of such daring: if we recall the words of the Chancellor von Bethman-Hollweg as the bandit would say: "Not kennt kein Gebot," "Necessity knows no law" and "when struggling for a thing supreme, all means are admissible." Is not this what is going on in Poland, in spite of what the ambiguous explanations of the German Chancellor may put forth! (1)

(1) The recruiting of Polish armies for the German Government is manifestly against International Law. The creation of a State vassal of Prussia, can be but temporary, during the hostilities, and was effected meetly to save appearances. The constitution remains identical and Russian-Poland remains with Russia. It is at the Peace Congress that the life conditions of the new State will take place and let us hope they will be in harmony with Polish aspirations.

Certain words of Dr. Helfferich and General von Gruner, at a meeting of the Reichstag Commission lead to believe that the same would happen to Belgium (1). No doubt, prudence will mark every step, but let us hope however that if the use of some hundred thousand guns is confided to the Belgians, who are known to be good markmen, the bullets will not be lost ! (2)

The Germans are far from owning this very plausible reason for deportation! They prefer to repeat that their slave-hunts are rather a quest of the unemployed. There is the excuse! There is the best they could find to "save the face". And, though they proclaim it shamelessly, they cannot hide the main fact : the mobilization of labour.

The deportation of civilians of Belgium was premeditated, and was to be effected when the need for men would be felt ! It is the execution of a preconceived program ! As Cardinal Mercier declares in his memorable protest, the transportation of a Belgian workman to labour in Germany corresponds to the liberation of a German labourer who will join the ranks of the Kaiser army.

The "Courrier de la Meuse" writes that "he is told that a boche residing in Liège and occupying an official position there before the war, has said that 750,000 Belgians were to be claimed. This is very significant. What then have decreed that there were 750,000 do nothing in Belgium!"

We now see that it is just 750,000 slaves they wished about the struggle against idleness! Would Hinderburg to have found in occupied Belgium !

Let us see if the deportees were really unemployed, and to what work they are employed in Germany.

The German press carries the palm for impudence and lack of conscience. It is thus that it has sought the justification of the slavery which has aroused the indignation of public opinion the world over. It reaches the limit by quoting the Belgian press ! But, we must remember that the Belgian press in Belgium and the German press are one ! There remain in Belgium but a few censured journals which publish the good pleasure of the German authorities, besides those created and maintained by the latter. (3). The others

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(1) A "New York Globe" correspondant says that deportations are carried on also because a revolution is feared in Belgium by Governor von Bissing. All garnisons have been cut down, as a result of the demand for men, and a general uprising might imperil the hated administration. and that is the reason all valid men are called away.

(2) In a circular, Mr. von Bissing wishing to reassure the people relative to the deportations said : "It is evident that the insertion of foreign elements among our German soldiers would be a dangerous experience."

(3) "L'Echo de la Presse", "La Belgique", "Le Bruxellois" are all of this category, created and maintained by the German administration.

have ceased to appear or are published abroad rather than submit to odious censure. (1)

According to the German press, which resumes the official theme, therewith the deportees are idlers. In spite of its illegality, the situation is more easily guarded under this aspect. Unfortunately, too many affirmations have been proved and too many facts prevail to doubt that there is *general mobilization of the working forces in favour of Germany.*

The primary precaution of the authorities, was the adoption of measures which would certainly lead to idleness. And, with brute force at hand, it was very easy. Raw material was first stolen; the machinery was then seized, save a few which were out-of-date, all of which are now in Germany! These "requisitions" deprived thousands of labourers of their daily tasks, and forced inactivity resulted.

Furthermore, municipal administrations were prohibited the undertaking of public works, under the pretext that they could not bear up with the expense. As results, additional involuntary idlers!

The doings of the German Government has therefore completely paralyzed economical life in Belgium, with the purpose to create unemployment in order to help deportation of the Belgians.

The Wolff agency is exerting itself in claiming that the Germans are deporting only the unemployed Belgians. A document published by the Hasselt Kommandantur proves absolutely the contrary of that. This document has a decisive weight of argument on this much discussed subject. It proves, beyond any possible doubt, that between the 12th and the 19th of November last the Germans did duly notify all the operators employed in the Limburgher mines that those who were willing to go and work in Germany *might* sign a deed or engagement contract to that effect. Unanimously, all the operators refused. Immediately after the Kommandantur declared all the coal-pits closed and then organised the wholesale deportation into Germany of all those miners who had until then been most regularly occupied in Belgium. And the deportation is still going on

It is interesting to see the declarations of lord Robert Cecil, replying to the German assertion on this subject.

"Three times, in the course of the last year, we have put propositions to Germany for the exportation of the products of Belgian manufactures and even of raw material, under the control of the Belgian Relief Commis-

(1) We wish to draw attention to that worthy little journal, "La Libre Belgique" which has been published by Belgian patriots since the outbreak of hostilities. It has dealt out the truth in telling blows, to the Germans and the latter have done everything to collar those who contribute in any way whatsoever to the publication of this plucky little journal

sion, the latter receiving and handling the funds proceeding from this commerce. The Germans constantly refused to assist the Commission of Industrial and Relief Belgium. Instead, they have exacted a monthly tax of 40,000,000 francs; they have requisitioned all the machinery and raw material; they have seized the national bank funds and have put a ban upon exportations.

The Germans have totally impoverished Belgium. We know that Germany has adopted this policy with deliberation, in view of establishing a state of idleness, which would favour their slave-trafic at the psychological moment.

The Germans attempt to justify themselves, saying that the situation, which they themselves have created has become so serious that it has become a drain upon public charity.

It is the most impudent word the Germans have uttered since the beginning of the war. One would almost believe, by their language, that they were the keepers of Belgium. But facts assert that all their help comes from the allies, through the medium of a Relief Commission. Our country alone has forwarded $50,000,000, since 18 months, for the succor of impoverished Belgium. We give this money freely, with but one condition, that it be administered by a neutral board.

In time, we will succeed in lifting the German Boot from the soil of Belgium. We will liberate her, but just now, we are powerless to prevent the tyrant from making slaves of the conquered. Alone, the neutrals can arrest the progress of slavery in occupied territory, beg their insistent protest against such monstrous barbarity."

There is also another point which relates to enforced idleness, though indirectly. It is the constant imposition of taxes and fines. Aside from the 40 million francs of monthly taxes, (1) fines are showered upon the people and all occasions furnish the opportunity. (2)

Idleness in Belgium is plainly the work of modern slave-tyrants.

Apart from the involuntary idlers, are those who idle willingly, and whom idleness honours : those who prefer to suffer all manner of privation rather than serve the enemy at their country's expense. And they are legion ! They well know that labouring for Germany is struggling against Belgium ! (3)

The "Central News" publishes the fact that 11,000 Belgians were deported to the internment camps at Soltau for having refused to work for Germany !

There we have all the reason of their admirable passive resistance ! After having reduced the Belgian working

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(1) During the deportations, those who did not respond to the summtures arise as to the cause of this increase, the administration fee of the occupied territory being inadequate, and commerce and industry, the sources of wealth, being generally demoralized. Deportation has only aggravated the situation. After the declaration of Mr. von Bethmann in the Reichstag, that "Germany had been unjust with Belgium," a fairer treatment would not have been amiss !

(2) During the deportations, those who did not respond to the sommons were subject to a fine not more than 10,000 marks. Municipalities refusing to furnich lists of the unemployed, and they all did, were heavily fined. For example, Bruges 400,000 marks; Idderghem, a very small village: 20,000 marks, because several men have escaped in Holland, the burgomaster being responsible for the payment.

(3) Further ahead are stated the various methods employed by the Germans to obtain so-called "voluntary service."

population to forced unemployment, the Germans dare represent them as lazy, a burden to public charity ! But we know what the affirmations of those " Men of Kultur " are worth, and also, the value of the industrious Belgium !

Doctor Zimmerman declared to the United States Ambassador that they proposed to force the Belgians to work whether they wanted to or not because the number who refused was so great (1) that public charity could not suffice.

Thus, under pain of being treated as outlaws of Common Right or galley-slaves, the Belgians are in the obligation to labour, directly or indirectly, to strengthen the enemy of their country, and facilitate the task of killing their brothers !

This situation revolts the conscience of the fair-minded !

But the temporary masters of the martyred Belgium need entertain no illusions in this respect. We do not consider the aid sent Belgium as " charity ". It is the duty of patriotic mutuality ! It is the payment of a debt contracted with the country, served by each of its children in the measure of their respective capacities ! And the " nothing done " of those who are not on the battle-field, but who undergo physical and moral suffering of the most terrible is one form of patriotism ! In the greatest of trials it is but natural for Belgians to help one another ! And, if it will be necessary, those who lend their generous efforts to " Belgian Relief Work," would exhaust their devotedness in order to obtain more for this brave people ! (2)

The Germans, well versed in recalling the rights of the occupant, avoid the mention of the duties incumbent

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(1) This is evidence of the tenacity of the Belgian patriots who spurn to lend a hand to the odious invader, and is the supporting evidence of those words of King Albert, spoken at the beginning of the war, in 1914 : " *Peut-être vaincus ; jamais soumis* " !

The attitude of Belgium justifies this statement of Prof. Delbruch :

" It would be impossible to place German garrisons in Belgium, in times of peace, because the troops could not walk the streets in safety without the protection of the police and the administration of justice. It would mean placing the country under permanent military law, which is impossible. There is no mean term : either Belgium must be incorporated to the German empire, which no one seems to want, or it must be evacuated."

(2) Among the reasons gived by the Germans in their attempt to justify the deportations of Belgian unemployed is this one : " The support and maintenance of the unemployed have cost 277 millions since the beginning of the war. It was therefore a duty on our part to supply them with labor in order to utilize for other purposes the enormous sums of money demanded to insure subsistance." It is to believe that the Belgian unemployed were being supported at their expense or by the Belgian administration of the occupied territory. It is necessary to say, that the Germans do not grant the very least subsidy to any of the Belgian Relief Work, for the unemployed or others. The Relief Funds are furnished for a very small portion by the Communes and for all the rest, by Belgian charity, internal or external, and by foreign generosity.

upon them. But why speak of duty to a people both faithless and lawless !

What indeed would have been the fate of the invaded country without the help of Belgian patriotism and that of foreign generosity !

The military interest of the Allies, who for that purpose would have abided by The Hague Conventions, would have been to blocade all the territory occupied by the enemy, leaving to the German Government, which draws from Belgium all and more than it can, the care of feeding the Belgian population, conformably to the principles of the Law of Nations. Humanity and sympathy for Belgium made them act otherwise and, unfortunately, the " Kulturés " were to profit largely thereby.

Instead of helping the Belgians, Germany sought to plant strife among them, by leaving them to understand, through the press, that the idlers live at the expense of the employed, that the increased of taxes is necessitated for the help of the thousands of unemployed. This, as though it were not definitely known where drift the taxes which the German administration is wont to impose at every opportunity !

Not idlers alone, be they voluntary or involuntary, are among those to be deported, and reduced to slavery. Investigations have proved that workmen were taken away during their labour, also, persons engaged in the liberal professions.

We have seen, in the Belgian protests, very precise facts which attest that all deportees were not idlers.

We give some others herewith :

The " Echo Belge " confirms the report that, at Nivelles, 80 of the deportees were not of the unemployed. They were farmers, store-keepers, railroad employees, and particularly workmen in iron and copper. From among the 1,700 men taken in this district, but 550 owed their sustenance to the Relief Commission. It adds that at the foundries of La Louvière, 70% of the labouring-staff was deported, and at the Boël factories of La Louvière 249 men were requisitioned all of whom were employed, and working at the very moment they were summoned.

The Maestricht " Nouvelles " have it from an eye-witness that the raids at Mons are carried on hap-hazard, without pity or regard for anyone. It is thus that men of liberal professions, civic employees, school teachers and students were taken away.

The Mons parliamentarians, witnesses on the scene, declared in their protest to Mr. von Bissing : " Placards ordain all citizens 17 years of age and over to present themselves in a place men thereupon, at a given day and hour,

under pain of severe punishment, and some posters read under pain of *being declared an idler*.

A first selection eliminates several classes : priests, doctors, professors, old men, the infirms, etc.

All those whom the recruters select are set aside and escorted by the militia to the station where a train awaits them.

We ignore by what standard the choice is made : the unemployed are enrolled and *also many other persons who were never idle and others of various professions :* butchers, bakers, master-tailors, workmen, electricians, farm hands, also many young men ; students in athenaeums, universities and high schools."

The students of the University of Labour of Charleroi were deported, says the same paper, " because the Germans recognized the value of their technical training which they can utilize." Can it be pretexted that these deportees are non-employed and that their transport to Germany is their advantage ?

The correspondent of the " Courrier de la Meuse " sends the following information from the Dutch-Belgian front : " I am told that the Germans have been ordered to assemble at Tongres a contingent of 10,000 men proceeding for the greater part from the Limburg district. If it be, thus it is obvious that the occupant does not merely deport idlers but is bent on collecting the required number of labourers.

At Arlon the deportations constitute downright proof of the inoccuracy of the German assertions.

On Tuesday, November 21st, at 2 P.M., a bill-board in red was posted, summoning all the men of the city, from 17 to 55, indiscrimately to be present at the Jesuit Fathers establishment, on Thursday, the 30th of November.

The result was a selection of 400 men who were taken away, among whom there was not one qualified idler. The majority were employees, sons of private gentlemen, tradesmen, etc., from 18 to 30 ; the others were labourers of all professions.

Among these 400 people, numbered 43 employees of the District Committee of Relief Work, therefore the Germans not only transport people who could provide their own subsistance but also those who provided for that of others.(1)

The " Indépendance Belge " is informed that the collieries of Charleroi were officially advised of the requisition of 10,000 miners for Westphalia ; *these miners are actually*

(1) It is remarked, says the " Indépendance Belge " that during recruiting operations, the German authorities evinced profound scorn at the certificates or cards bearing the signature of the American representative of the " Commission for Relief."

at work, and the motive seems indeed, as von Bissing says in his letter to Cardinal Mercier, that of "reestablishing economical life in Belgium."

Here again, it is a question of increasing German production, of relieving German miners, and that without being justified in affirming that it is through the deportation of a single unemployed labourer.

Is it possible to mention "idler" in a case such as that of Willebroek, which we have mentioned before, where the De Naeyer factory was surrounded while the men were still at work ? All the personnel was taken on the spot and conducted to Germany without even bidding farewell to their homes, all protest being in vain !

At Wavre and at Waterloo the troops encircled the city ! At Bruges, patrolmen penetrated the homes at night ! Everywhere, the man-hunt was systematically organized.

The "Central News" holds it from an authentic source that the Ghent deportations included men of liberal professions, engineers, notaries, and retired gentlemen.

These facts irrefutably confirm the assertion that the Germans are not bent on reforming idlers but that they are organizing the mobilization of all available men ! They find it necessary to retain in captivity several hundred thousands Belgians fit for the army ! They find it necessary to gather men for labour of a military order ! That is why they extend their raids to all valid men (1) and along with the labourers have deported intellectuals, lawyers, clergymen, students, even college and athenaeum pupils !

Many of the documents of protestation we have published not only attest the bitter derision of calling "idlers" men from whom every occasion to labour had been systematically withdrawn but also that the deportations extended to non-idlers.

Among these documents we recall (2) the vigorous and dignified reply of Cardinal Mercier, of the 29th of November, citing numerous examples of arbitrary removals stating that any number were deported who were not idlers, and saying that the priests of his diocese asked to be deported along with the population !

If there were no other statements these would suffice. We have mentioned before, writing in matters of German atrocities, a simple affirmation of Cardinal Mercier is to be credited rather than the imperial word of honour of William II ! The Belgians are in a position to know the value of a German promise !

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(1) "Provided the civilians remain steadfast" it has been said. This they did admirably; there seemed nothing able to daunt their courage. Consequently the Germans found it necessary to use other means

(2) See also the protest of Belgian Industrials who speaking from reliable authority, mentions undeniable incidents and facts.

Doubtlessly, the "Gott mit uns" will not avow their intentions ! They even bare-facedly declared that their motives were purely humane (1) and to the advantage of the populations ! That if any non-idlers were deported, it was through some misunderstanding !

They carefully avoid mention of the "ransom of slaves" authorized in some districts. Liberty could be exchanged for a certain sum of money. In certain localities, it was advertised that fathers of a family of more than 5 children could assure their release for the payment of 500 marks!

The "Telegraaf" says that a certain number of Belgians brought to Germany by force were returned to their homes after having ben ransomed. At some stations the price of the ransom of a slave — it is termed otherwise of course — was placed at 1000 marks. This price apparently too high, as it brought no success, was finally lowered to 500 marks after a few days.

It is characteristic of our "Men of Kultur," that they overlook no opportunity of creating new sources of revenue.

And it is not the evidence, that all deportees are not workingmen living of the public charity ?

We read in the newspaper "Les Nouvelles" of Maestricht that three trains of slaves headed for Germany, stopped off in the Province of Liege, the inhabitants having asked them where they were bound for, they replied that they did not know, but that they were not unemployed, and, that they would not work for *them*. Then, in protest, and for mutual encouragement, they burst forth in singing national hymns.

At Welkenraedt station, a few labourers and Belgian employees who had resumed their work were violently taken apart by the occupant of one of the trains of deportees. A medley of curses and advise resulted and above the din, the cries of: "This is cowardice! Give up your work! Do as we do! *Nothing for the Boches!*"

It is the greatest hommage we owe to the heroic attitude of the Belgian workmen remaining in the occupied territory.

At a conference in London, Mr. Asquith, speaking of the decree by which the German Governor of occupied Belgium imposes labour upon Belgians incapable of providing for themselves, remarks that it contains some notable stipulations: "Instead of reverting to judicial proceedings, the governor will have the power to ordain that the refractory workmen be conducted by force to the spot where they are to work."

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(1) Two hundred men from Antwerp returned from exile in the beginning of January. The poor unfortunate people were either too weak or too sick to be of service to the Germans. They were therefore bagged-off whence they came. More supporting data to their plea of humanitarian motives !

"In other terms," says Mr. Asquith, "he may ordain that they be treated as slaves. This is the last degree of a policy which has vainly attempted to crush the undaunted spirit of these heroic people who refuse to take part in the sacking of their own native land. We, in England, note all these things. And they will not soon be forgotten. We will demand reparation for these wrongs. And, not only does the spectacle of these sufferings and anguish of such patient and resigned victims arouse the sympathies of their allies, but they have moved to indignation the Neutral States of the Globe."

The Germans have done everything to attract labourers. But the voluntary signatures being too scarce, other methods were resorted to, the more so because labourers had been promised in Germany. In fact, a dispatch from London says that the German authorities have organized a market of Belgian labourers in Schleswig-Holstein. (1) The tariff is 30 p. c. less than the average salary in the province. The German government agrees to supply deportees at one half the travelling expenses, leaving to the employers the care of deducting the amount from the salaries of the deportees.

Strenuous measures were soon adopted, and soon, labour was enforced. Very often, the signatures were obtained from the misery stricken folks by "German methods." (2)

The following is a text of the appeal for voluntary labour and a specimen of the contracts :

"By order of the Governor-General in Belgium, I have been charged with the reinstallation of the manufacture of sulphuric acid (3) belonging to Vieille-Montagne, at Boelen-Wezel.

If possible, only volunteer workmen, foremen and other employees, inscribing their names on the list, with the caretaker.

It is in the interest of the workmen to take advantage of this offer, because volunteers alone *need have no fear of being transported to Germany.*

The salaries will be the same as before the war.

The inscription list will be open until December the 10th, 1916.

Der militarische Leiter, der saurefabrik Baelen-Wezel.

(S.) von Berg.

Volunteer workmen must sign a contract in the following terms :

"The undersigned.. .. .. .

2 He expressly recognizes the labour laws of the German Empire, and the rules in force in the manufacture, as well as recognizing clause 5, of the present contract.

3 The workman will be insured against sickness and accidents as are the German workmen.

4 He submits to the obligation of inhabiting a tenement which will be reserved for him at his expense, for housing and food about .....Fr. per day, as per local custom.

5 The contract will be valid for 4 months. It may not be cancelled by either party during this period of time.

The cancellation of workmen in the collieries may not be effected before the last days of the contract.

In the case where the laborer's family consents to accompany him, this contract is valid for 9 months.

Made in triplicata at Liège, the . . . . . .

The laborer certifies to be in good health and assumes the responsibility of all he says.

Such is the document to which the Germans wanted signatures, in order to use the labourers as it suited them. Returned deportees have given informations which go to prove that the deportees are martyrized to force them to work.

Every attempt was made to obtain their signatures to the labour contracts. Tempting promises and offers of high salary were succeeded by ill-treatment and starvation !

But they had refused to sign in Belgium... they were held to refuse in Germany. After their refusal, the men were brutalized with the butt-ends of their muskets, whips and boots. They were obliged to remain standing for days at a time! They were housed in cold sheds where even a bale of straw was a luxury ! In Poland, they were made to walk in the snow with insufficient clothing and many froze their feet ! Deprived of food for several days, they were then offered victuals and shown the contract awaiting their signature !

These misery-stricken and brave men bought their moral independance at the price of blows, cold, and privations of every sort, and offered one another mutual encouragement.

Few of them signed the contracts, many of them died and a goodly number are totally unfit as the result of such treatment. The Germans have returned to Belgium men in such a pitiful state that they died shortly after their return to their native country. (1)

" Treason or starvation ", such was the dilemma. They had preferred to starve !

Above reasoning, all the documents, testimonials of these martyrs of patriotism and of these who had witnessed their sufferings, constitute undeniable proof that the German motive for dual mobilization, that is to say mobilization of military and labouring circles.

(1) These returns had led to believe that the Germans were ceasing the deportations.

Unwilling to own this motive, and the numerous violations of the Law of Nations of which they have been guilty, the German authorities try to explain the misdeeds in a manner qualified abroad as "German Lies".

VII.—CONCLUSION.

What may be expected of universal protest. — Attitude of the Neutrals. — Some powerless to cope with the situation. — Others absorbed in the pursuit of material interest. — The honor of all nations concerned in the respect of International Law and Conventions. — Belgian workmen demand not mere words but actions. — Let the German standard be trodden everywhere at the Embassies and Consulates. — Intervention is a moral Duty. — Will the Neutrals tolerate the restoration of slavery in the XXth Century?

Conclusions must be brief.

Universal protestations will not have any noted effect upon the directing powers of Germany. What care they for universal contempt? Worse than that has left them unmoved. It is therefore quite useless to appeal to their humane sentiments. "Necessity knows no law." The energetic action of neutrals which might have prevented war in 1914, might now produce some result. But can we expect it? On the whole, the attitude of the neutrals has been deceptive. If they had formally requested a settlement of the difficulties before The Hague Tribunal, in 1914, Germany, though wanting war, would have been forced to submit. And since the outset, how many the occasions to interfere! Alone the restoration of slavery in Belgium would have been sufficient reason to do so, in the name of Natural Law, International Law and International Conventions. "The Neutrals alone, by their protestations, can put a stop to such monstrous barbarity" said Lord Robert Cecil, speaking of the deportations.

But, where are the neutrals who have not forgotten the duties incumbent upon neutrality? (1) The historians of the Great War will find in the sad necessity to expose the fact, that the greed and interest of the Neutrals tolerated

(1) We recall the following declaration with satisfaction: "Neutrality has its duties and the neutrals should not reward by their forbearance those who premeditated the assault. Between those who violate the law and its observers there is no neutrality possible. Tribunals, opinion and conscience cannot stand neutral between law and crime."

See also what Th. Roosevelt says about neutrality in our pamphlet: "La propagande allemande," p. 15.

all the infamies, all the violations of international law in short, of their own rights, (1) with no other protestation than that to save appearances, against the bandits, those XXth Century pirates bent on restoring slavery.

If Public Powers have not been moved, public opinion has. The Belgian labourers menaced with slavery, have made solemn appeal to their brethren of the world. They declared that Germany will that 500,000 Belgians to carry on work in Germany, where they will be transported as slaves. And they ask *not for sympathy, but for acts.*

We can recall the massacres in Armenia, under Habdul-Hamid, surnamed the " red-handed Sultan ", whose successor is to-day the accomplice of the " Kaiser " whose hands are not the less red. The protestations were not platonic at that time, and the people of Belgium, rightly indignant, had shattered the windows of the Turkish Consulate.

If acts are necessary, let them take place !

Let every window of the German Embassies and consulates be shattered! Let every German flag trampled! (2) The Public Powers will then be forced to act. But not for excuses, because they will be against popular sentiment, which has had enough of such barbarity as has been practiced in Belgium and which reaches its zenith in the acts of deportation !

There is no evading the point, all the crimes committed, while transgressing International Law, involved the neutrals who did not offer real protestations, mindless of the motive of their silence !

Germany evinces the greatest scorn for what has been established by twenty century of civilization !

If Justice and Right are to rule the world, and not Might and Gold, why did all the neutrals not call upon Germany to respect the conventions of which they were parties, or break off diplomatic relations which would entoil the rupture of economic relations ?

This appears to be a moral duty which it seems impossible to elude, as it impossible was for Belgium to shun her duty in 1914 !

To tolerate these deportations and not to ask in a formal manner that the deportees be returned to their homes,

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(1) Just suppose for one moment what the reprising would be, if Germany, pursuing its " Welt politik " managed to land in the United States, an army which would proceed in the same way in America as they did in Belgium. What clamours would we not hear in the name of Humanity, Civilization, Liberty and International Law !

(2) This pamphlet was to the impression when the diplomatic rupture between United States and Germany took place.

would be permitting the restoration of slavery in the Twentieth Century !

Will the neutrals allow it ? We can expect better from the " Men of Freedom ", and say with the author of " **The New Slavery** " ;

Speak, and, if the need shall be,
Men of Freedom, strike !

February, 1917.

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